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The Ethnology of Africa
Edited by J. H. Driberg, M.A.
and I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D.

THE KHOISAN PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE ETHNOLOGY OF AFRICA

THE KHOISAN PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA
(Bushmen and Hottentots)
By I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D.

THE WESTERN AND CENTRAL BANTU
By E. Torday

THE PAGAN PEOPLES OF NORTH-EAST AFRICA
By J. H. Driberg

THE PAGAN TRIBES OF THE NILOTIC SUDAN
By Professor C. G. Seligman

THE SOUTHERN BANTU
By I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D.

THE BANTU PEOPLES OF EAST AFRICA
By L. S. B. Leakey

THE LACUSTRINE BANTU
By J. H. Driberg

THE NEGRO PEOPLES OF WEST AFRICA
By Henri Labouret

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THE KHOISAN PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA

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BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOTS

By
I. SCHAPERA
M.A. (Cape Town), Ph.D. (London)

[p. iii]

LONDON
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1930

To
THE SCHOOL OF AFRICAN LIFE AND LANGUAGES
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
and to
PROFESSOR A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN
its former Director
IN GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LTD., HERTFORD.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

[2] THIS volume is the first of a series designed to provide in a scientific manner a comprehensive survey of what is at present known about the racial characters, cultures, and languages of the native peoples of Africa. The rapid improvement in anthropological technique since the beginning of the century has led to far more complete and systematic studies by workers in the field than had previously been attempted, with the result that a vast amount of detailed information about numerous individual tribes has been rendered available. All this information needs to be sifted and correlated before it will be possible to arrive at a correct appreciation of the data and problems of African ethnology.

To this must be added the increasing public interest in all things African, which makes it desirable that the results of scientific research should be so presented as to be of service not only to the theoretical anthropologist and the specialist student of African ethnology, but also to the general reader and especially to those whose sphere of activity brings them into intimate daily contact with the African Native. To the administrator, the missionary, the economist, and the educationist, each in his own way now moulding the life of the Native into conformity with the standards of European civilization, a thorough knowledge and understanding of the people with whom he is concerned is an indispensable preliminary to the successful execution of his task. It is the hope of the editors that applied anthropology no less than the purely academic science will find in this series the groundwork upon which it may build for the future.

The series has been so planned as to take into consideration cultural rather than political boundaries. Each volume is written by a specialist in full touch with current anthropological thought, and with an extensive first-hand knowledge of the areas and peoples with whom he is dealing. In the presentation of material special prominence will be given to the descriptive analysis of social organization, manners, and customs, economic and political life, religion and magic, as it is felt that, apart from their greater theoretical interest, a full critical discussion of these cultural aspects and the part they play in the life

(2) of the people is the main contribution that anthropology as a practical science has to make to the future government and well-being of Africa. The wider problems of racial movements and the diffusion of culture, in the analysis and interpretation of which lies the key to the ethnological history of Africa, can only be dealt with adequately once each separate cultural division has been studied in detail. These and the contactual relations existing and developing between Europeans and Natives will form the theme of the concluding volume.

J. H. Driberg.
I. Schapera.

This present series of books on Africa is not a publication of the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures. It could not be so, since work was begun on it before the plans of the Institute for its own publications had been settled. The Institute, however, welcomes this series very warmly, not only because the authors are members of the Institute and help it substantially in many ways, but also because the Institute naturally takes the keenest interest in all scientific publications dealing with African peoples and languages. Such publications materially assist the furtherance of its work, and this is particularly true of the present series. It is not the purpose of this short preface to make a critical study of the books included in the series, but I can say without reserve that they present an instructive and invaluable survey of the peoples of the continent of Africa, which will be most welcome to both the anthropologist and the practical man, and will therefore meet a real need. That they will find many friends and attentive readers among the members of the Institute is certain.

Professor Dr Diedrich Westermann,
Director of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

Berlin,
April, 1930.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IN the writing of this book, and of the smaller studies leading up to it, I have been greatly helped by the encouragement and sympathy generously accorded to me by a number of friends. Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, during my undergraduate days at the University of Cape Town, both stimulated and directed my interest to the study of the peoples with whom it is concerned, and by his able and thorough teaching equipped me with an anthropological training for which I am most grateful. The dedication of this book to him and to the School he so brilliantly organised is but a slight and far from adequate expression of the extent to which I feel indebted to his influence. Miss D. F. Bleek and Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, our foremost authorities on the Bushmen and the Hottentots respectively, were ever generous with their friendly counsel, and freely placed at my disposal their unrivalled knowledge of these peoples. Their kindly assistance was a real encouragement to me to persevere in the line of research upon which I had entered. The University of Cape Town, by awarding me the H. B. Webb Gift Research Scholarship, enabled me to continue my work overseas, and to come in contact there with new points of view from which I have benefited greatly.

In London I found in Professor C. G. Seligman a generous teacher and a friendly critic; to his many other kindnesses he has added the reading of the greater part of this book in manuscript and has offered much valuable advice. For the same generous aid I wish to thank the Rev. E. W. Smith and Dr. E. Evans-Pritchard. To Professor B. Malinowski I am profoundly grateful for constant inspiration in matters theoretical and for an insight into anthropological problems which has largely determined my handling of the material set forth in the text. My colleague, Mr. J. H. Driberg, in addition to other services, has, in my absence from England, kindly undertaken to see the volume through the press. For this friendly gift of time and assistance I cannot adequately express the degree of my indebtedness. The London School of Economics, lastly, by appointing me to an assistantship in its Department of Anthropology for the session 1928-9, afforded me both the means and the opportunity for writing this book, and the lectures I gave there helped to shape my material. Parts II and III, as originally drafted, were incorporated in a thesis on "The Tribal System in South Africa", accepted by the University of London for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. They have, however, been considerably expanded and rewritten to meet the scheme of this series, and as now published do not therefore bear the imprimatur of the University.

For the illustrations I am indebted to various sources: to Dr. L. Fourie for the Frontispiece and Plates VI, VII, VIII, XI*b*, XII and XIII*b*; to Dr. L. Schultze and his publisher, Herr Gustav Fischer, of Jena, for permission to reproduce Plates I, II, III*a*, V*b*, X, XIV, and XV, from *Aus Namaland und Kalahari* (1907), and Plates III and V from *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner* (1928); to the Trustees of the British Museum for Plates IX, and XI*a*, kindly obtained for me by Mr. H. J. Braunholtz; to Miss M. Wilman and Mr. A. M. Cronin, of the McGregor Memorial Museum, Kimberley, for Plates III*b*, and IV; and to Mr. M. C. Burkitt and his publishers, the Cambridge University Press, for permission to reproduce Plate XIII from *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*. To all of them I am deeply grateful for their co-operation.

I. SCHAPERA.

GARDENS,
RONDEBOSCH, SOUTH AFRICA.
August, 1929.

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PART I
ETHNO-GEOGRAPHY

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CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY OF THE KHOISAN

H B 101 By the year 1652, when the establishment of the pioneer Dutch settlement at Table Bay laid the foundations for the present political dominance of the white man in the country, Africa south of the Zambesi River was already inhabited by a considerable number of different native peoples. On the basis of racial, linguistic and cultural distinctions, these native inhabitants are customarily classified into four separate groups, known respectively as the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Bergdama, and the Bantu.

B 101 105 The Bushmen, at one time spread over almost the whole of South Africa, are to-day confined principally to the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and adjacent districts. They are a short, brownish-yellow people, with certain peculiar and distinctive racial characteristics; they all speak languages of a uniform and easily recognizable type, phonetically remarkable especially for the great prevalence of "click" consonants; and they live in small nomadic bands which lead a purely hunting and collecting existence, practising neither agriculture nor pastoralism.

H 101 105 The Hottentots formerly occupied most of the western half of the region, but are now found chiefly in the southern parts of South-West Africa. They are closely allied to the Bushmen in race, and their languages are of a somewhat similar type, although in both respects certain differences are also observable. They are, however, a predominantly pastoral people, keeping cattle and sheep, and live in larger communities with a more complex system of social organization.

The Bergdama, also inhabiting South-West Africa, are racially a true negro people, different in appearance from both the Bushmen and the Hottentots. They all, however, speak the language of the Nama division of Hottentots, to whom they have long been in subjection. Like the Bushmen they live in very small nomadic groups and derive their subsistence primarily from hunting and collecting, although some of them also keep goats.

The Bantu, finally, although historically the most recent native people settling in South Africa, are now spread over the whole country with the exception of the southern half of South-West Africa and the western and central districts of the Cape. They are most densely settled in the eastern half of this region, i.e. in the Eastern Province and Native Territories of the Cape, Basutoland, Natal and Zululand, Swaziland, Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, and Portuguese East Africa, while in the central and western portions—Orange Free State, British Bechuanaland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and South-West Africa—they are much less numerous, although still greatly outnumbering the other native peoples. They are essentially negroes who have absorbed a varying amount of Hamitic blood, and therefore tend to differ somewhat in appearance from the Bergdama. Their languages belong to the great Bantu language family of Central and Southern Africa, and in grammatical structure and vocabulary are quite unlike those of the other South African native peoples. They are also on a higher level of culture, combining cultivation of crops with pastoralism as their principal means of subsistence, their communities are on the whole far larger, and their social organization is somewhat more complex.

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Of these four groups of native peoples, the Bushmen and the Hottentots have both declined considerably in strength and numbers as a result of the encroachment first of the Bantu and then of the European settlers. The whole culture of the Hottentots has fallen largely into decay, and the majority of the people have even lost their own language and adopted that of the Dutch; while such tribes of Bushmen as still survive appear to be gradually dying out or at least merging with their Bantu neighbours. The Bergdama seem to have suffered less in regard to numbers, but their culture too is undergoing rapid disintegration. The social cohesion of the people in all three instances has been almost completely broken down. As far as present economic or political importance is concerned, they are relatively negligible in problems of inter-racial relationship, while numerically they are so inferior to the whites as to be considered an insignificant minority.

The Bantu peoples, on the other hand, are still vigorous and powerful, and in their economic and political relations with the European inhabitants of the country present one of the most vital problems now confronting European civilization in South Africa. They greatly outnumber the white population, and appear to be steadily increasing, a fact which is giving rise to much apprehension on the part of the latter. Their social and political organization, too, is so

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superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization. 9:10

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered. H B 101 121

TOPOGRAPHY: GENERAL FEATURES

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the east of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts. H B 131

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 911,000 square H B 133

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[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the native *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

H B 133 miles, without peninsulas of any size or any large islands off its coasts.[1] By far the greater part has an elevation of over 3,000 feet above the sea, while the area below 1,500 feet is merely a narrow fringe round the coast. Most of the interior consists of a high plateau region, rising gradually around its borders and passing by degrees into an encircling belt of much diversified country. The escarpment which bounds it on the south-east, south, and west is constituted by the Drakensberg Mountains of the Transvaal, the Drakensberg or Quathlamba of Natal and the Transkei, the Stormberg of the north-eastern Cape Province, the Sneeuwberg, Nieuweveld, Roggeveld, and Kamiesberg farther south and west, and is continued northwards under less well-known names to beyond the Kunene River. These mountains appear to be of no great height when viewed from the interior plateau, but on the seaward side they fall steeply, though rather irregularly, to the much lower level of country on the west and south.

On the west, as far south as the Olifants River, the escarpment is separated from the ocean by slopes of a more uniform nature, but in the south the Great Karroo and long ranges of fold-mountains (the Cape Folded Belt) intervene between it and the coast. The coast-line on the west is generally low, almost unbroken by bays or promontories, and beaten all the year round by a heavy surf; on the south there are several prominent headlands, which, however, afford little protection to ships. The only good natural harbour of any size is Saldanha Bay in the south-west, but at Walvis Bay, Table Bay, Algoa Bay and other places ports have been constructed.

H B 132 The general characteristics of the climate are determined more by the physical conformation of the land than by proximity to the equator. The eastern escarpments of the high plateau intercept the rain-bearing winds from the Indian Ocean, so that over the greater part of the interior the rainfall is slight (5 to 24 inches). This, added to the elevation of the land, makes the climate in general dry, bracing, and suitable for Europeans, notwithstanding the fact that the northern part of the country is within the tropics. Owing to the gradual increase of altitude from the coast to the interior, there is a remarkable uniformity of mean annual temperature over the greater part of the region; at

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[1] The description given above is compiled mainly from the following sources: S. Passarge, *Südafrika*, 1908, chaps. [illegible]; L. Schultze, "Südwestafrika," in *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, 1910 (ed. H. Meyer), vol. ii, pp. [illegible]; *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, 1914, vol. iii, "Africa", chaps. [illegible]; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. [illegible], [illegible]; *The South and East African Year Book and Guide* (ed. A. S. Brown and G. G. Brown), [illegible] edition, pp. [illegible] and passim.

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very many places, irrespective of latitude or longitude, it is very close H
to 63° F., which is also the mean for the entire area. The difference B
between mean summer and mean winter temperatures is, however, 132
considerable, increasing from the coast inland, while the daily range of temperature is also generally great. Frosts are common on the plateau during winter.

By far the greater part of the country receives the bulk of its rainfall in summer. The winter rainfall area is confined to a comparatively narrow strip parallel with the west coast, and the constant rainfall area to a much smaller belt in the south. Generally speaking the amount of precipitation decreases from east to west, with areas of heavier rainfall along the south coast and in the south-west. The average annual rainfall of about 24 inches is fairly regular all over the eastern half of South Africa, reaching a maximum of 40 inches in Zululand, and diminishing gradually along the south coast to rise again in the Cape Peninsula. It rapidly falls to 10 inches in the south-western Karroo, from which there is a steady decrease towards the north-west in South-West Africa, but the mean value is again approached in Angola and in the northern and eastern Kalahari.

This contrast in the amount and incidence of the rainfall tends to H
explain very largely the lack in correspondence of the principal river- B
systems in the south and west respectively. On the west the rivers
are few, and only the Kunene, Orange, Olifants, and Berg are perennial, 133
of which the first two, the largest, not only rise within centres of high rainfall, but also receive no important contributions throughout the lower part of their courses. In the south, owing to the moderately high winter rainfall, the smaller rivers rarely cease flowing, but all the important ones, such as the Gouritz, Gamtoos, and Sundays, actually originate in the interior region of summer rains behind the coast ranges and pass through the latter to the sea by means of deep gorges. They receive insufficient water in their courses across the Folded Belt to maintain a constant flow at all seasons, and in times of drought may become a series of pools.

Since most of the larger rivers rise upon the interior plateau, their gradients, over stretches, are high; sometimes there are waterfalls, such as the Rua Cana on the Kunene and the Aughrabies on the Orange, while rocky bars or rapids may occur in their channels within the coastal belt or just before it is reached. In consequence of this great slope, and of the intermittent supply of water, none of the rivers is navigable beyond its estuary. The mouths of the rivers are always obstructed by sand bars, and most of the rivers are further liable to receive sudden freshets, which sweep down with great force and render the fords impassable until they have subsided.

NATURAL DIVISIONS AND VEGETATION

The Interior Plateau

Topographically the interior plateau can be divided up into several regions, more or less sharply defined from one another by the shape and character of the surface and by the climate. Its heart is constituted by the Kalahari Desert, a huge sand and bush-covered plain standing at an average elevation of 3,000 to 3,500 feet above the sea, and devoid of running water except in the extreme north. The greater part of this plain forms the western portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, but it spreads south into that part of Bechuanaland annexed to the Cape and west into South-West Africa. The Orange River may be taken as marking its southern limit; westwards it reaches to the foot of the Nama and Damara highlands of South-West Africa, eastwards to the cultivated parts of Bechuanaland, and northwards to the Congo-Zambesi watershed, embracing the valley of the Okavango and the bed of Lake Ngami.

The Kalahari as a whole is arid and scored by the beds of dried-up rivers. Its surface is thickly covered with red sand and calcareous deposits, through which the basement rocks seldom show. In a few places, however, they project abruptly above the plains in the form of isolated bare hills, which though not high are conspicuous on account of the monotonous regularity of the surface from which they arise. The ground is undulating and is thrown up towards the west into extensive belts of parallel sand dunes, in part, however, fixed by vegetation, which cover a great portion of the country in the south and stretch with interruptions to beyond Lake Ngami.

Throughout the Desert there are extensive mud flats, which after heavy rains become pans and lakes of shallow water, and water is then also found in mud-bottomed pools along the beds of rivers. All over the country numerous small pans or vleis also occur in crater-like depressions where the rock rises above the desert sands. The water in these pans is often brackish and in some cases thickly encrusted with salt. The native routes lead from pan to pan, or from one waterhole in the bed of a sandy river to another. During the dry season the lack of water is so widespread in the Southern

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and Middle Kalahari that it is scarcely possible to traverse parts of the country, and many routes can only be followed at such times as the pools have been filled by recent rain. H B 133

The winter climate is delightful. The heat during the other months is great, but there are occasional short, sudden, and therefore treacherous changes from extreme heat to cold. Malarial fever is prevalent, being particularly severe in the neighbourhood of the water-courses and other low-lying places, where during and immediately after the season of the heavy rains the dense bush, thick undergrowth, and rank vegetation afford excellent shelter to mosquitoes. The rainfall varies from about 8 inches in the south-west to more than 20 inches in the north and east; almost all the rain falls in the summer months, December to April, and chiefly in thunderstorms. Except in the north, none of this rainfall reaches the sea, the water being either evaporated directly or flowing into shallow depressions such as Lake Ngami and the Great Makarrikarri salt-pan. Over wide areas the country is so flat that the rain drains off partly in one direction, partly in another. H B 132 164

The principal river in the north is the Okavango, which, rising in the Angola highlands, flows into the Okavango marshes, a region about a hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. From this reed-choked swamp the river at certain seasons overflows on the north into the Kwando and so reaches the Zambesi, and on the south into Lake Ngami and the Botletle River, which feeds the Makarrikarri depression and the great sandy plains of the north-east. During the rains the whole of this region is covered with wide stretches of water, often extending far beyond the horizon. The Nossob, Molopo, and Kuruman Rivers in the south, which formerly drained the greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari into the Orange River, are now for the most part sandy beds bordered with trees, and water is seldom found except towards their heads. At the present time no water leaves this part of the Kalahari except through evaporation. The country appears to be suffering from progressive desiccation, but there is said to be good evidence of an abundant supply of water not far beneath the surface. H B 133

The rainfall, though very small in the west and south, enables a fair amount of vegetation to flourish, chiefly grasses, shrubs, and trees, except in certain areas where the soil is too saline. The great plains, more especially in the south, are covered with tough sun-bleached Bushman grass (*Aristida brevifolia*), growing knee-high and giving H B 137

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H B 137 the country the appearance of a vast cornfield. Considerable portions, chiefly in the west and north, are, however, covered with dense thorn bush, while in the north-west the whole region is well timbered and merges into thick tropical vegetation. Along the river beds throughout the country are dense thickets of Acacia (*detinens*, *giraffae*, and *horrida*), almost impenetrable in parts and often harbouring great numbers of wild animals. Large forest trees such as mopane, commiphora, and here and there baobabs are found in the north. Succulents, such as the *Aloe dichotoma* and *Euphorbia dinteri*, abound wherever there is rocky soil, while leguminous and bulbous plants are an important feature of the vegetation in all parts. The most remarkable of these plants is the well-known *tsama* melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*), which owing to its nutritive and thirst-quenching properties is a veritable staff of life in many parts of the country during the height of the dry season.

H B 137 Towards the western border of the Kalahari, as the superficial deposits become thinner, ridges of rock make their appearance and become more and more numerous, the ground-level rises generally, and the region passes by degrees into the highlands of South-West Africa, which form the western edge of the vast interior plateau. This whole territory is practically one great series of undulating elevated plains, intersected by small mountain ranges, of which the Brandberg near the coast rises up as high as 8,277 feet above the sea.

In the far north-west is a chain of rugged mountains stretching south-east through the highland region of the Kaokoveld at a distance of 25 to 40 miles from the coast. Further inland the north-east Kaokoveld consists of an elevated plain, sloping abruptly towards the Kunene River and Ovamboland; from it hills emerge to the south and west. Ovamboland, which shares the characteristics of the Kalahari region, is a slightly undulating sandy plain, intersected by a number of shallow watercourses filled by the Kunene overflow and draining to the Etosha Pan. Towards the south of the Kaokoveld there is a general decrease in height. This southern portion, a country of steep, rocky hills with narrow valleys, passes over to the east into the Karst region, for the greater part a wide plain sloping gently towards the Etosha Pan and characterised by the formations associated with dolomitic limestone. The usual features of this kind of country are met with: sink holes, subterranean caverns and springs, and the absence of defined waterways, due to the porous character of the surface covering.

Northern Damaraland to the south of the Kaoko region is a tract of extensive grass plains, from which emerge isolated eminences and a few mountain chains superimposed on the main plateau. Further south the whole country attains its highest elevation of over 6,000 feet in the Khomashochland of Windhoek district, while south and east of Windhoek rise the great Auas Mountains (highest altitude 7,886 feet), which form the watershed of South-West Africa. Deep clefts and gorges, widely-extended plains and high rugged peaks are characteristic of this region; valleys, too, expand in among the mountain groups, and are often of extreme fertility. To the south succeed the plateaus and table-topped mountains of Great Namaqualand. This part of the country is dominated by two longitudinal trenches, that of the Konkip to the west, that of the Great Fish River to the east. West of the former is a series of mountain ranges and elevated plains, among them being the Tsaris and Tiras Mountains and the Huib plateau, while to the east of it is the Hanami plateau. Still further east, beyond the Great Fish River, the Uitsomib plateau overlooks the Kalahari. In the south-east the isolated Great and Little Karas Mountains rise to considerable heights, but the country is for the greater part flat or rolling. Eastward and north-east of these elevated tracts, the upland assumes a very level character, composed mainly of sand dune formation merging eventually everywhere into the sandveld of the Kalahari. H 8 133

Although the northern half of South-West Africa falls within the Tropic of Capricorn, the climate is on the whole temperate rather than tropical. The extreme north and north-east are hot and trying to Europeans, and malaria is very prevalent there during the autumn; but on the central plateau the dryness of the air makes the summer heat easily supportable, and the country generally is healthy, with clear, bracing atmosphere and much wind. The winters are cold, and ice often forms upon the central and southern plateaus. Rain falls during the summer from October to April, but rarely during the winter season. The mean annual rainfall varies with the latitude, from 6 inches in the south to 12 inches in the centre and reaching 22 inches in the north. H 8 132 [164]

Except for those rivers forming part of the northern and southern frontiers of the country—the Kunene, Okavango, and Orange—there are practically none which carry surface water all the year round. Almost all are simply dry sandy watercourses which become torrents for a short period after rain; but save in very wet seasons few of these H 8 133

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H B 133 flow for any considerable distance. For the rest of the time they have water only below the bed or in pools. Away from these sandy beds water as a rule is extremely hard to find. After heavy rains great hollows in the rocks are filled with water which is a blessing to any traveller passing that way, and there are also vleis and depressions which hold water for a short while. Springs, however, are few and far between, and then generally occur in the river-courses.

H B 137 Corresponding to the variation in the rainfall there is a variation in the character of the vegetation. In the extreme south for a considerable distance semi-desert conditions prevail, the arid, stony plateaus and plains supporting a sparse growth of grass and small, scrubby bushes, including the different species of *Grewia* which produce the wild berries so much used by all the natives as food. In heavy rainy seasons, however, nutritious grasses and flowers spring up everywhere. The river-courses are clothed with trees, especially the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Kokerboom (*Aloe dichotoma*), and in all of them, too, the South American *Nicotiana glauca Grah.*, the wild tobacco plant, is found as a straggly, weedy shrub or tree. Northwards the veld assumes the characteristics of the Karroo until Rehoboth is reached, when it changes into park-like grass country studded with large thorn trees, being especially well timbered along the watercourses. From the mountainous portions of the Windhoek district northwards towards Omaruru the country is covered with level bush with an undergrowth of very nutritious grass, the valleys and watercourses being well wooded mostly with Acacia trees, especially the Kameeldoorn. Towards the north the bush becomes denser until it is fairly well timbered all over. In its northernmost section it is traversed by belts of open Mopane forest, and towards the Okavango fertile tropical vegetation is abundant. Numerous kinds of fruits, roots, and tubers used by the natives as food are found over the whole region, but most abundantly in the north. The edible bulbs belong for the most part to the *Iridaceae* family, while the tubers are generally *Asclepiads*, though the *Cyperaceae* and the *Oxalideae* also furnish succulent tuber-like growths.

H B 132 133 South of the Orange River the rocky western edge of the great interior plateau is extended into the highlands of Little Namaqualand in the Cape Province. With scanty soil and low rainfall (5 to 15 inches) this region shares the characteristics of the southern portion of South-West Africa. Short perennial streams are found in the Kamiesberg, but the mountainous country enclosed by the great bend

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of the Orange Riv is very dry. The level arid plain of Bushmanland H
further east is e entially a continuation of the Kalahari, from B
which it is separat d by the deep rocky valley of the Orange River. 132
The summer rainf ll is low (5 to 10 inches), increasing gradually 133
from the west east ards; there is practically no surface water, and the
soil is usually bare stony or sandy. The river-beds are mostly dry
throughout the gr eater part of the year, and the Orange River is the
only one that alw ys contains water. The general aspect of the H
vegetation both h e and in Namaqualand is that of widely-separated B
xerophytic shrubs and bushes, with a fair proportion of succulent 137
plants in the low- ing valleys and on the rocky outcrops. Grasses
do not form a co spicuous feature, but they occur on the high
plateaus and sandy plains, where the vegetative period is short, and
where they alway assume a tufted habit.

Further south a d east is the Upper or Northern Karroo, an arid H
tract of country e tending northwards to the Orange River at an B
elevation of betwe n 2,800 and 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is
bounded on the we by the Roggeveld, on the south by the Nieuwe- 133
veld and Sneeuwber ranges, which form part of the great escarpment
of the interior pla eau. The landscape appears for the most part
in the form of vast reeless plains, only here and there broken by table-
topped hills boldly scarped by sandstone and dolerite sheets, while
occasionally dark r dges, the outcrops of inclined sheets of dolerite,
are seen traversing he country for many miles.

The region is e posed to great extremes of temperature. Severe H
frosts are experienc d in the winter nights, while the summer heats B
are correspondingly severe, reaching at times to 110° F. in the shade. 132
The feeling of oppr ssion at such times is increased by the hot westerly
winds which predo minate during the first half of summer, although
the nights are cool even during the periods of greatest heat. The
winter days, on th other hand, are very enjoyable, the air being
keen and bright wi a maximum of sunshine. There is a wide range
of rainfall, from les than 5 inches in the north-west to 25 inches in
the east; the great r part of this falls in violent summer thunder-
storms, and almost ll the water runs off the sun-baked soil into deep
gullies which hurry it off to the sea. Severe droughts are common, H
and the streams are ll intermittent. The soil is shallow and rock- B
strewn, except in th alluvial tracts in the valley bottoms, and surface 133
limestone becomes an important feature in the drier parts of the 134
region. Pans are a undant, and a striking feature in the low-grade

H B 133 134

valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

H B 137 341

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

H B 132 133 137

The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

The Coastal Regions

H B 133

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

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H B 133

it presents as much diversity. Along the west coast from the Olifants River northwards as far as the Kunene stretches a desolate and barren wilderness, well deserving the name of "Namib" or desert by which it is known in South-West Africa. This arid tract varies in width from 18 miles in the north to about 85 miles towards the south, and the ground-level rises gradually and evenly from the sea to the plateau. The greater part of the surface is covered by drifting sand dunes, which stretch in wave after wave to the horizon; here and there low gravelly hills and ridges of hard rock project through the mantle of sand, while in places gravel plains and sandy flats vary the monotonous billow of the landscape. The belt of dunes is widest and most continuous south of the Swakop, some of them reaching a height of 300 feet and over; further north they are at once much less continuous and much lower, and the country east of them is more broken. The Northern Namib is further distinguished from the Southern by the presence of watercourses which have kept an open channel to the sea.

H B 132

The cold Benguella current sweeping the coast from the Antarctic is primarily responsible for the aridity of this region. The coast is dominated by cool winds from south and south-west for about 30 miles inland, although there are occasional very hot winds from the east during the dry season. The winds blowing inland over the cold water lose a considerable amount of their moisture, which hangs as a dense mist over the coastal border almost all the year round, but especially heavily in winter. The Namib in consequence is a practically rainless desert, the mean annual rainfall at Walvis Bay, for instance, being 0·73 inches, and at Port Nolloth 2·27 inches. The temperature, lowered by the Antarctic current, is fairly constant. Port Nolloth in the south, with a mean annual temperature of 57·5°, has the least annual range of temperature in South Africa; February the warmest month has a temperature of only 60·1°, while July the coolest month averages 54·2°.

H B 137

The result of the deficient rainfall is a very scanty, intensely xerophytic vegetation. The plants are stunted and dwarfed, and nowhere form a conspicuous covering to the earth. Here and there considerable areas are almost entirely devoid of vegetation, although along much of the coastal border the wet and heavy sea fog maintains a sparse cover of bush on the sandy ground. From about 25 miles inland the landscape is characterised by such plants as the milk bush (*Euphorbia*) and cacti, while towards the east, in years of abundant rainfall, the country is fairly well grassed. In the river beds rich

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Bushman FX10

H B [illegible] verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!naras* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves. H B [illegible]

H B 133 At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterised by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation. H B [132 137]

H B 132. The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

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Bushmen FX10

f temperature is somewhat greater. Most of the rains fall during he winter (April to September), when the temperatures, though mild, e still relatively low. The summer is the dry season, and long droughts egularly occur. H B 132

These climatic conditions have resulted in the production of peculiar and characteristic type of vegetation. The dominant lants are evergreen shrubs some three to six feet high, usually with mall, stiff, leathery leaves. Between the shrubs are many smaller lants, numbers of which possess bulbs, tubers or other subterranean rgans storing up quantities of water and food substances. The andy plains support a dwarf, heath-like vegetation, while the marshy ollows, the stream margins, mountain ravines and mountain summits ll possess their own peculiar plant forms. The families characteristic f this region include the *Proteaceae*, to which belong many of the vergreen shrubs, among them the well-known silver tree *Leucadendron argenteum*) of the Cape Peninsula and the sugar bush *Protea mellifera*); the *Restionaceae*, a family of grass-like plants hich largely take the place of true grasses in this region, though many f the latter occur as well; and the *Ericaceae* (heath family), which e very numerous and often strikingly beautiful. Forest patches e found in the kloofs and seaward sides of the mountains, the largest ea of more or less continuous forest in the Union lying between e Outeniqua Mountains and the sea, extending from George through ysna to the Humansdorp district. They are composed almost tirely of high timber trees, the more common being species of llow wood, cedar, ebony, stinkwood, ironwood, and sneezewood. H B 137

The last natural region with which we are concerned is the Central Great Karroo of the Cape Province. Lying at a level of from 1,500 3,000 feet above the sea, it stretches as a gently-undulating plain m the foot-hills of the Folded Belt to the mountains forming part the great escarpment in the north. On the west it extends to valley of the Olifants River, while in the east the Sundays River y be taken as marking its limit. The mountains of the Folded lt rob the rain-bearing winds from the sea of their moisture, and so e rise to the aridity of this region. The rainfall is scanty, the annual an being less than 5 inches in the west, although it increases to 15 hes in the centre and east. The surface soil is shallow, hard, and mpact; the river-courses are dry, except during the brief periods rainfall in the summer, when the bulk of the water is rushed off mediately to the sea. In the dry season the whole region presents

H B 183 132

H B [134]

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a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry water-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

FAUNA

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

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[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–40. Cf. also Passarge, op. cit., pp. 78-80.

Bushmen F[illegible]

and nineteenth centuries many of the larger game animals were driven out of the more southern regions, the quagga being totally exterminated, but most of them are still found in the Kalahari and northern parts of South-West Africa, as well as in the eastern lowlands (from Zululand to the Zambesi delta).

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B
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The kudu is the most common of the larger antelopes, the duiker and steenbok among the smaller antelopes still numerous over the whole country, while in the north and east herds of hartebeest, blue wildebeest, gemsbok, and eland are also found in fair numbers. Among the better-known antelopes peculiar to South Africa are the bontebok and the black wildebeest, both now surviving only in a state of semi-captivity on farms, and the springbok, still fairly plentiful in some districts and kept in small herds on many farms. It formerly inhabited in immense numbers the open treeless plains of all South Africa, and is celebrated for the vast "treks" in which it travelled in search of food or water. Small herds of elephant survive in a few strongholds to the east and south, and in parts of the Northern Kalahari. The zebra, giraffe, buffalo, and rhinoceros are still found in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the eastern lowlands, while the hippopotamus, formerly abundant in every river of the Cape, is now confined to the neighbourhood of the Orange River, and also occurs in the rivers of the Kalahari and the Low Veld of the east. Of carnivorous animals the leopard is still common in many mountainous regions over the whole country, as are also the wild cat, red lynx, spotted hyena, and jackal, but the lion, once so plentiful throughout the Cape Province, is now apparently extinct south of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Baboons are numerous in many mountainous districts, and the forests, even along the south coast, still shelter monkeys.

Birds especially prominent in South Africa include the starlings, the weaver-birds, the larks, the sunbirds, the shrikes, bulbuls, and swallows. Of game birds the most common are the ostrich, still existing in the wild state in various unenclosed parts of the country, though now chiefly known as a domesticated bird; the bustards (korhaans and pauws), the francolins or African partridges, guinea-fowl, sand grouse, quail, and snipe, as well as numerous varieties of waterfowl. The secretary bird (*Serpentarius*), a long-legged terrestrial relative of the hawks and eagles, is protected on the strength of its reputation as a snake killer. A tropical element, comprising such birds as parrots, louries, hornbills, rollers, and glossy starlings, penetrates

FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen in FX 10

HB 136 into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal bushveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic contribution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the ringhals (*Sepedon haemachates*) are among the more formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendraspis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachnida are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole possesses an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. B [242] Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the moister parts of the country; the anopheline mosquito conveys malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, A [169] as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen. B [411]

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Environment and Culture

The possibilities of exploitation this region offers to people lacking the highly-developed technical equipment of modern European civilization vary considerably. The ways in which the Bushmen and Hottentots utilize the natural resources of their surroundings will be discussed in some detail in later chapters. Here a rapid survey may be made of the factors conditioning the distribution and mode of life generally of the natives inhabiting the country.[1] H B 106

The most important consideration naturally is water. Animal and plant life are there in sufficient quantity to support human existence, provided a supply of water is near. Man in his primitive condition is dependent entirely on surface water for the satisfaction of his needs, for he has not the means now possessed by civilized man for getting at the water in the depths below. The amount of surface water therefore determines the density of population in any one area, and the water available in a given area, together with the density of the vegetation, determines the number and size of the settlements in that area. H B 105 311 312

The character of the country, moreover, limits at once the types of culture that can become indigenous there. South Africa even under modern conditions can only carry on agriculture in certain parts, and most of the country could never support a primitive population of pure agriculturists. It is only in the well-watered districts to the north and east and along the south coast that native agriculture has been developed to any extent. On the other hand, there is an abundant fauna and a sufficiency of vegetable life to afford good subsistence to man. The type of culture then that we would *a priori* expect to find here would be one based largely on hunting and collecting. This is exactly what we do find. The abundance of game formerly existing in South Africa makes it readily comprehensible that hunting at one time played a great rôle in all parts of the country, and therefore that hunting peoples were distributed all over its surface. All the native peoples of South Africa, whatever other means of subsistence they have, rely to some extent at least for food on the products of the chase and on the edible bulbs and roots of the veld.

H B 105 311

A country, however, which can support great numbers of buck

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[1] For special discussions of the South African environment in relation to man, cf. Passarge, op. cit., pp. 160–72; idem, "Die Grundlinien im ethnographischen Bilde der Kalahari-Region," Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin, 1905, pp. 20–36, 68–88; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," S. Afr. Geog. J., vi (1923), pp. 14–28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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H B 105 311

and other grass and herb-eating animals will also support other species of these animals, provided that conditions such as the absence of the tsetse fly and other pests are favourable. Hence we also find pastoral tribes, who have come in from other regions bringing with them great herds of cattle and immense flocks of sheep and goats. One important point must, however, be noticed. Country which, under modern farming conditions, will only carry a small herd of cattle, sheep, and goats, used formerly to carry large herds of well-fed antelopes and zebras. The explanation is that each wild species is specially adapted to living on certain bushes or plants, and that many natural foodstuffs useless to farm stock were made use of by one species or another of wild game. It must also be remembered that the wild game was not restricted by farm boundaries; it was free to shift its ground according to the seasons and the supplies of food and water. For the same reasons a nomadic life was imposed on the native tribes keeping domestic animals, although nowadays with the extension of the European settlements the areas over which free movement is possible have become greatly restricted.

H B 105 311 312

Viewed in this light, the natural regions of South Africa which have been described above are seen to differ widely in their value for culture. Certain parts of the country, such as the Namib desert strip and the interior of Bushmanland, are largely uninhabitable. The rainfall in both is exceedingly slight, and there is practically no surface water all the year round. In parts of the Namib, however, the river-courses from the mountains of the South-West African plateau periodically carry water, which is dammed up in a few places by rocky outcrops in the river beds, and above all there is the *!naras* melon, whose fruit is sufficiently succulent to provide a substitute for water. Agriculture is completely out of the question. The thin scattered population which the region can support is forced to lead a nomadic hunting life, although in the east, towards the borders of the plateau, the grass which flourishes during the rainy season occasionally permits of pastoralism.

The greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari lacks surface water during the dry season only. The water supply at other times is generally sufficient to permit of temporary settlements, although the porous sand covering of the surface absorbs all the rainfall, so that except in the pans and other waterholes the standing water rapidly disappears. The region is sparsely inhabited, and mostly by nomadic peoples. Agriculture is again impossible, save in a few tracts to the

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H B 105 312 311

east, where the soil is more favourable, but the rainfall is too uncertain to enable grain to be grown with a reasonable prospect of success. The abundance of grass in many parts, especially during the rainy season, affords good pasture to cattle, but the region is above all an excellent hunting ground, and formerly at least it was extraordinarily rich in game. Hence its inhabitants are in the first place hunting peoples, and their life is conditioned by the movements of the game. At the beginning of the rainy season the animals wander out of the permanently-watered regions encircling the desert into its sandy plains, where water is found only in pans, pools, and waterholes. The hunters follow them. As the dry season sets in and the water in the pans begins to shrink, part of the game returns to the watered regions, part of it, however, continues to live in the plains on the tsama melons and other succulent plants—and the hunters do the same.

In the well-watered Northern Kalahari three great streams, the Okavango, Kwando, and Zambesi, overflow on to the flat land, in some parts continuously, in others periodically, and thus give rise to an extensive region of swamps. This marshy region is excellent hunting and fishing ground. Its population, more numerous and densely settled than in the rest of the Kalahari, is therefore primarily concerned with these two pursuits. The natives indeed are actually forced to resort in part to fishing, since for motives of security they live mainly on the small islands between the swamps and the rivers. The periodic rise of the rivers annually floods wide stretches of the country, resulting in displacements and wanderings of the game. Consequently, the natives also must roam, partly because their habitations are flooded out, partly because they must follow the animals. Both agriculture and pastoralism are also carried out in parts of the country. The cattle pasture in the sandveld away from the swamps, while the marshy region can only be used for the cultivation of crops, since for wide stretches it is infested by the tsetse.

The upland regions encircling the Kalahari basin on the south-east, south, and west, have for the most part a scanty rainfall. The permanent settlement of this belt during the dry season is therefore restricted to the scattered waterholes, which occur in river beds, on mountain slopes or in depressions on the hard soil. Waterless stretches from 40 to 100 miles in extent are no rarity, so that the settlements are frequently distributed far apart over the land. Here, as in other regions of South Africa, hunting must depend on the movements of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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H B 165 311 312 the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterise the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled areas, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

MIGRATION ROUTES

H B 131 167 The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

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[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 30–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–5.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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and the elevated ridges and plateaux of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River. H B 131 167

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaux of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country. H B [144 721]

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CHAPTER II

HISTORY, DISTRIBUTION, AND TRIBAL DIVISIONS

BUSHMEN

Early History

174 THE Bushmen were long regarded as the earliest human inhabitants of South Africa, and as having occupied the country from times of remote antiquity. This belief, most fully expressed in Stow's classical work, *The Native Races of South Africa*,[1] was not without some foundation. Of the peoples of South Africa of whom there is any definite historical record, the Bushmen are certainly the oldest; the other native peoples show in their traditions that when they first entered the country they found the Bushmen already scattered over the greater part of its surface; while the relics of the Bushmen, such as rock paintings, rock engravings, and stone implements, are distributed over a far more extensive area than was occupied by the people themselves within historical times, and frequently occur under conditions which postulate some antiquity.

172 174 It has now become fully established, however, that the Bushmen were preceded in the occupation of South Africa by other peoples. Recent archæological investigation has shown that there existed in the country a number of different stone implement industries, clearly separated in time as well as in character.[2] These industries are grouped chronologically into the Earlier, Middle, and Later Stone Age Cultures. The stone implements and rock art associated with the Bushmen all belong to the Later Stone Age, and it is only in deposits of this Age that skeletal remains of the Bushmen have been found.

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[1] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa: A History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting Grounds of the Bushmen, the Aborigines of the Country* (London, 1905), chaps. i-ii.

[2] The most useful general account of the prehistoric cultures of South Africa and their northern affinities is by M. C. Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, which contains a good bibliography. Cf. also the valuable sketch by A. J. H. Goodwin, "The Stone Ages in South Africa," *Africa*, ii (1929), 174-82, and the recent series of monographs by Goodwin and Lowe on *The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa* (Annals of the S. Afr. Museum, 27, 1929).

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The Earlier and Middle Stone Age Cultures must consequently be 172
regarded as previous to the Bushmen.

There is, moreover, a lack of continuity in type between the Middle 174
and the Later Stone Cultures which precludes the possibility that the latter, and the Bushmen stone industries forming part of it, developed in South Africa out of the former. On the other hand, scattered all over East Africa, especially in Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, and Kenya, there are found stone implement industries and in some cases rock paintings so closely resembling those of the Bushmen that they must be regarded as of a common origin. These facts together lead to the conclusion that the stone industries associated in South Africa with the Bushmen were not indigenous to the country, but constitute an invading element which penetrated into it from the north-east and superseded the two pre-existing stone cultures. As yet no human remains have been found definitely associated with either of these preceding cultures, except in the case of the Still Bay Industry of the Middle Stone Age, from a deposit of which was recently excavated a skeleton belonging to the extinct racial type now termed "Boskopoid".[1] This racial type, of which other remains have been discovered, but with no clear archaeological association, differs considerably from that of the Bushmen, and the two cannot be regarded as intimately related.[2]

All this suggests that the Bushmen themselves came into South 174
Africa with their culture from the north-east. No skeletal remains
have yet been discovered north of the Zambesi River similar to those 144
of the Bushmen, however, nor are there any peoples living outside South Africa who may be regarded definitely as Bushman in race. Attempts have often been made to establish a connection between the Bushmen and the Pygmy peoples inhabiting the equatorial forests of Africa, more especially in the Congo region. The two groups of peoples certainly have various features in common. Both, for example, are short in stature, in both the hair is short and woolly, and the skin colour brownish-yellow. But in the shape of the head and above all in the build of the body they differ so markedly as to eliminate any possibility of racial identity. There seems to be no more intimate relationship between the Bushmen and the Pygmies than the fact that phylogenetically both are derived from a small variety of negro,

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[1] Goodwin, op. cit., 180–1; Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 126.

[2] Cf. G. D. Laing, "The Relationship between Boskop, Bushman, and Negro Elements in the Formation of the Native Races of South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 905–8.

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174 to which main stock they are generally regarded as belonging. But they must be looked upon essentially as divergent branches which 144 have specialized along different lines.[1]

At the same time, although as a distinct racial type the Bushmen are now restricted to Africa south of the Zambesi River, traces of their former existence further north are found not only in culture. Physical features reminiscent of them are seen occasionally in various peoples of East-Central Africa, such as the Andorobo, Elgunono, and Doko, while between Abyssinia on the north and the Zambesi River on the south evidence of their absorption by the Nilotic and Bantu negroes is found in sporadic reversions of their type occurring in almost all the East African peoples.[2] Moreover, the Sandawe, a settled hunting people living west of the Irangi plateau in Tanganyika Territory, speak a language which in phonology (especially in the occurrence of " click " consonants), syntax, and vocabulary has certain by no means insignificant resemblances with the Khoisan languages of South Africa, and the Kanjegu of the same region are also said to have a click language.[3] There seems to be no great similarity in appearance between these peoples and the Bushmen; but, as Dempwolff suggests, it is quite probable that they were originally Bushmen who have since become considerably modified, first by intermixture with Hamitic immigrants into East Africa, and later by the incorporation of Bantu blood as well.

174 On the whole, therefore, the evidence seems to indicate that at a very early time the Bushmen occupied the hunting grounds of tropical East Africa, perhaps even to the confines of Abyssinia. That they are no longer to be found in this region may be ascribed to its extensive invasion by later Hamitic and Negro peoples. Harried by the encroachment of these more powerful races, the Bushmen, where they were not exterminated or absorbed, must gradually have passed southwards, keeping along the more open grasslands of the eastern

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[1] The points of resemblance between the Bushmen and the Pygmies are fully discussed by F. von Luschan, "Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76, who is of the opinion that the two are closely related. The main arguments against this view may be seen in, e.g. H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, pp. 518 sqq., and R. Pöch, "Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *KorrBl. dtsch. Ges. Anthrop.*, xlii (1911), 75–80. A. C. Haddon, in *The Races of Man*, 1924, pp. 17–18, gives short summaries of the physical characteristics of the two peoples, which bring out very clearly the essential points both of resemblance and of difference.

[2] A. C. Haddon, Presidential Address to Section H, *Rept. Brit. Assn.* (*South Africa Meeting*), 1905, p. 514.

[3] O. Dempwolff, *Die Sandawe*, 1916, esp. pp. 63–70; F. J. Bagshawe, "The Peoples of the Happy Valley," *J. Afr. Soc.*, xxiv (1924–5), 25 sqq., 117 sqq., 219 sqq., 328 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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mountainous zone, where they could still preserve their hunting mode of life, until, when the written history of South Africa commences, they were roaming all over the territory south of the Zambesi River. Presumably they had by then largely exterminated their Boskop predecessors, although certain types of so-called "Strandlooper" skulls excavated along the south-east coast of the Cape have been regarded as evidence of occasional amalgamation between the two races.[1] The human palæontology of South Africa is, however, too little known for this phase of Bushman history to be accurately determined. 174

How far back their invasion dates there is also as yet no certain means of telling. The absolute chronology of the South African stone ages, the only possible source of information on this point, is so far completely undetermined.[2] Without the guidance it alone can afford, estimates of the antiquity of the Bushmen in South Africa must remain purely speculative. It is certain, judging by what is known of the history of the later invading peoples, that the Bushmen came into the country well over a thousand years ago, but at present no more definite or even approximate date can be assigned to their immigration. 172

General Distribution

In their occupation of South Africa they seem to have extended over almost the whole region from the Zambesi in the north down to the south coast. Their relics, in the form of skeletal remains, culture deposits, pictorial art, and even place-names, are found widely scattered over most of this region, especially in the east and the south, and afford indisputable evidence of their former presence in many parts where they are no longer seen. Even well within historical 162 174

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[1] Laing, op. cit., 906-7; cf. also a series of papers by Dart, Laing, and Gear on "Strandlooper" remains from Zitzikama, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, vols. xxi-xxiii (1924-6). The term "Strandlooper" (coast ranger), applied by several writers on the prehistory of S. Africa to the people associated with the kitchen middens found along the south and west coasts of the Cape, should be abandoned, as the latent implication that these people form a distinct racial group is not justified. For the most part they were merely Bushmen who took to the seashore, so that we have to deal with a particular mode of life rather than with a particular people (cf. Schapera, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii, p. 861). The "Strandlooper" remains referred to in the series of papers mentioned above represent a mixture of these coast-dwelling Bushmen and people of the Boskop type.

[2] It may be noted, however, that the industries associated with the Later Stone Age persisted until long after the arrival of the Europeans in S. Africa, and that as recently as 1927 Lowe came in contact with an old Bushman who was not only acquainted with the methods of making stone implements, but "actually struck flakes and demonstrated the secondary trimming of end- and side-scrapers" (Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 180).

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162 times Bushmen were living in districts from which they have now
completely disappeared, or where perhaps only a few individuals
174 still survive. This is the case in Natal, Basutoland, Orange Free State,
and especially the Cape, in all of which, as recently as the middle of
last century, the Bushmen were still fairly numerous.

But the encroachment of later invading peoples gradually ousted them from the more favourable districts which they occupied. First the Hottentots, advancing south along the west coast, drove them from the fertile plains to the mountain fastnesses of the interior. Then the Bantu, pressing down the east coast, overcame the fierce resistance of the little people upon whose ancient hunting grounds they trespassed. Other Bantu tribes, traversing the interior of the country, came into conflict with the Bushmen in the arid plains north and south of the Orange River and the Vaal and in the rugged mountains to the east. The European settler, in his turn pushing north and east and seeking fresh pastures for his growing herds, waged an equally relentless war against them. Before each successive invader the Bushmen, where they were not forcibly exterminated, had eventually to seek refuge in more unfavourable and inaccessible parts.[1]

162 At the present time they are found living principally in the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and in the northern half of South-West Africa. On the north they extend into South-East Angola up to about 15 degrees S. latitude, on the east into the Tuli and adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, on the south into the region of the Nossob and Molopo Rivers, and on the west to the Etosha Pan in South-West Africa. Small isolated remnants are also met with in the vicinity of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, in the coastal province of Mossamedes in South-West Angola, and in the Namib desert strip along the coast of South-West Africa.

Everywhere else the Bushmen have been either exterminated, expelled, or incorporated racially by later invaders, although stray individuals may still be seen occasionally in the north-west districts of the Cape and sporadically in Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It is only in the Kalahari Desert and the north-eastern parts of South-West Africa that they still retain to any degree their original mode of life and organization. Even here they have all been affected to some

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[1] A vivid account of the vain resistance offered by the Bushmen to the peoples encroaching upon them, and of the relentless manner in which they were persecuted, is given by Stow, op. cit., especially in chaps. ix–xii. Cf. also K. Barthel, "Völkerbewegungen auf der Südhälfte des afrikanischen Kontinents," *Mitt. Ver. Erdk. Leipzig*, 1893, pp. 8–20.

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162 extent by racial intermixture with other native peoples. In the Eastern and Central Kalahari, moreover, as well as in Angola, most of them are also in a state of servitude to the Bantu peoples among whom they live. Large bands of relatively independent Bushmen are now found only in the North-Western Kalahari and the adjoining districts of South-West Africa, especially in the Omaheke, Kaukauveld, and Ghansiveld.

Tribal Divisions

101 [619] The Bushmen are divided into many different groups, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. These groups will be spoken of here as tribes. The Bushmen do not appear to have any general or collective names for themselves. Such names have, however, been applied to them by most of the other inhabitants of South Africa. The Hottentots term them all *San*. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but Hahn interprets it as "aborigines, or settlers proper".[1] The names *Sunqua*, *Saunqua*, *Sonqua*, etc., by which the Bushmen are often referred to in the early records of the Cape, are merely verbal variations of its masc. plur. form *Sa*(*n*)*qua*. The Bantu peoples know the Bushmen by a variety of names, the most common of which are all cognate forms of the same root—*BaTwa* or *AbaTwa* (Zulu-Xosa), *BaRwa* (Suto), *MaSarwa* (Chwana), *OvaTwa* (Herero), etc. The meaning of this root has not been satisfactorily determined. A common interpretation is "people of the south", but this is not universally accepted; a more plausible alternative, perhaps, is "people of the wilderness". The name *Bushmen* itself goes back to the earliest Dutch settlers at the Cape, and is found as far back as 1685 in the Cape Records, where it occurs in several variations of its Dutch form—*Bosjesmans*, *Bosmanekens*, *Bosiesmans*, etc. It has now become generally adopted in ethnological literature and there seems no good reason why it should not be retained.

197 619 The languages of all the Bushmen tribes are of the same general structure, and can be regarded as belonging to one language family. They vary, however, in certain details of phonetics and especially of grammar and vocabulary, which permit of their classification into three main groups. To these the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively have been applied by Miss D. F. Bleek,

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[1] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 1881, p. 3.

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197 on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names
619 may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

619 The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the
[197] best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous.
[162] They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose
[162] language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman
[177] name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring
[197] Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are
144 seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

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[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem, Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem, Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1874), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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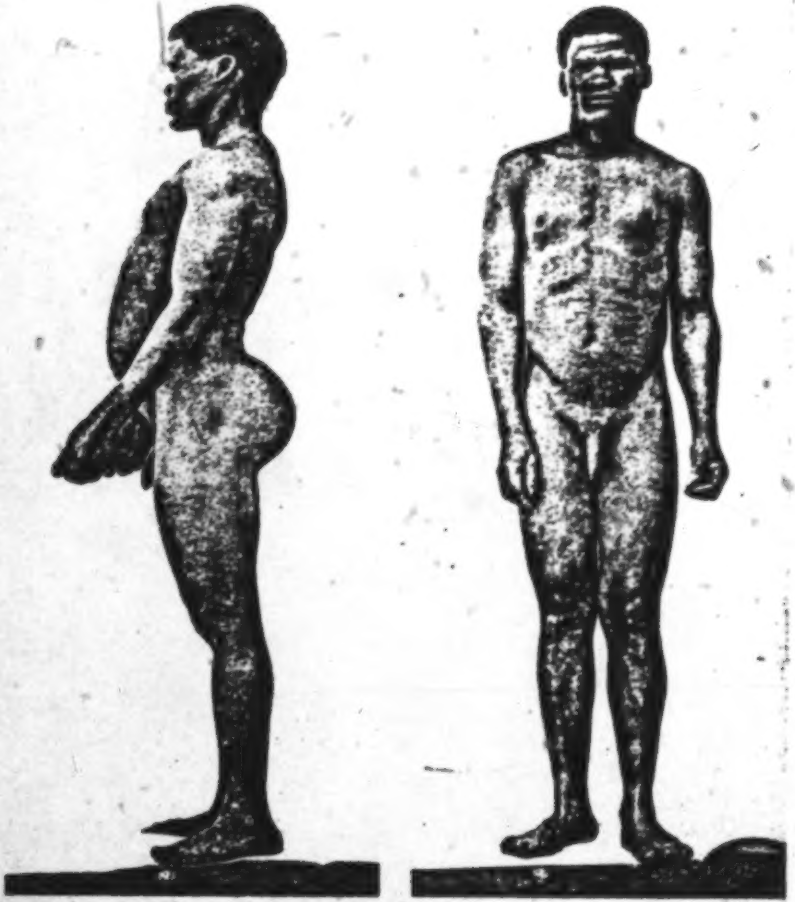

L. Schultze.

/AUNI BUSHMAN
From S.W. Borders of Kalahari

[face p. 32

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619 To this group belong also the few Bushmen in the south-east of South-West Africa, of whom may be mentioned the */auni* in the waterless regions of the Lower Nossob and the */nu//en* (called */nusan* by the Nama Hottentots) in the Upper Nossob and Auhoup valleys. Some of these still lead a more or less independent life, but the majority are in the service of interdwelling Bantu, Hottentots, and Bastards.[1] Further east, in the south of Bechuanaland Protectorate, other Bushmen of the same group are found in the service of the BeChwana among whom they live. They have no special name for themselves, and are known simply as *MaSarwa*, the Chwana term for all Bushmen.[2]

The tribes of the NORTHERN GROUP inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke in the north-east of South-West Africa, including part of the Kaukauveld and the Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into Bechuanaland Protectorate, and on the north into Angola.

In the south of this region, between Sandfontein and Gam, are found the *//Kau //en*, called *‡aukwe* by the Central Bushmen, *‡ausan* by the Nama, *MaKaukau* by the neighbouring Bantu, and commonly spoken of as the *Auen*. They are one of the few Bushman tribes still living in comparative independence, and appear to have retained their original mode of life and organization to a considerable extent, though not without a few traces of foreign influence. Their numbers [162] at the present time are estimated at between 500 and 600.[3]

Immediately north of them, and speaking a closely-related language, live the *!Khũ* or *!Kuŋ*, commonly called *Kung*, one of the largest and most independent of the Bushman tribes.[4] Their tribal name means simply "persons, people", but when used without an adjective signifies "Bushmen" to them. They occupy the whole north-east corner of South-West Africa, extending from about Grootfontein

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[1] D. F. Bleek, in *Festschrift Meinhof*, 56–7; *idem*, *Comp. Voc.*, 2–3; Papst, "Die Kalahariwüste und ihre Bewohner," *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Jena*, xiv (1895), 48–54; J. F. Herbst, *Report on Rietfontein Area* (Cape Parliamentary Papers G. 53–1908).

[2] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, pp. 650–78.

[3] The fullest account of this tribe is by H. Kaufmann, "Die ‡Auin, Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 135–60; cf. also Müller, "Ein Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," *D. KolBl.*, xxxiii (1912), 530–41.

[4] H. Werner, "Anthropologische, ethnologische und ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; H. Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kũ-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke in den Jahren 1910–12," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; von Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 1–7; V. Lebzelter, "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun-Buschmänner*," *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*, Vienna, 1928, 407–15; *idem*, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten am oberen Omuramba und Ovambo (Südwestafrika)," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer [12]–[16].

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619 in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east.
They are divided into four main local groups, the *!Ogowe* of the
Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa,
the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and
[197] the *!Kungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which,
however, speak the same language and have identical customs and
[162] beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and
800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers
such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

[197] North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number
of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West
Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes
by the names *!gei !kũ*, " red people," or *!o !kũ*, " forest people."
They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long.,
and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola
Kung, or *!O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been
[177 considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling
144] Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being
absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes
referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu : *BaKhankala*
or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli*
in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa
are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* (" tree dwellers "), who are scattered over
a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the
outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near
Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly
densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only
a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now
work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the
Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have
619 disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now
197 speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they
have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the
177 Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have
been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

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[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56 ; *idem*, " Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.

[2] H. Werner, op. cit. ; L. Fourie, " Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63 ; *idem*, " The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

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absorbed into the OvaMbo through racial intermixture. Werner, 619
however, found some of them speaking a language of their own. 197
The examples he gives of this show it to be closely related to the 177
language of the Kung, so that the tribe can be regarded as falling within
the Northern group of Bushmen. Its numbers are estimated by [162]
Fourie at between 1,000 and 1,500.

The Central Group is composed of many tribes who inhabit 619
a considerable portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, especially in
the Central and Northern Kalahari. The languages of these tribes 197
differ in some respects from those of the two previous groups, and
present many close similarities to the Hottentot languages.

In close proximity to the Auen, by whom they are termed *Naron* ("insignificant people"), live the *//aikwe*, one of the best known of the Bushman tribes.[1] They are found principally in Bechuanaland Protectorate, their territory extending from Sandfontein in the west to Ghansi in the north-east and Okwa in the south-east. Further north and east, as far as Lake Ngami, are the closely related *Tsaukwe*, *Tsonokwe*, *ǂamkwe* and *!giŋkwe*, all friendly tribes, whose languages the *//aikwe* understand, and whom they include with themselves in the collective designation *K"am-ka Kwe*, "Mouth's people."[2]

Beyond them, in the marshy region extending from Lakes Ngami and Linyati in the south to the Okavango delta at Andara in the north, live the *Bugakwe*, *ǂgarikwe*, and *ǂgokwe*, who all speak the same language and term themselves collectively */tannekwe*, "river people."[3] In the sandy plains north and east of these tribes, between Okavango River and the Kwando, are the *Hukwe*, called *MaKwengo* by the MaMbukushu and *MaSarwa* by the BaRotse amongst whom they live. Still further east, between the Lower Kwando and the Zambesi Rivers, and probably extending into North-West Rhodesia, are the *Galikwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaDennassena*.[4] In

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[1] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Oldenburg n.d. (1891), pp. 388–99; S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907; Gentz, "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 297–301; lxxxiv (1903), 156–9; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 24; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 2.

[3] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxvii (1905), 49–716; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung des Gebiets zwischen Okawango und Sambesi (Caprivi-Zipvel) in den Jahren 1905 und 1906," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxii (1911), –111; *idem*, "Die Buschmänner des Okawango- und Sambesigebietes der Nordkalahari," *Globus*, xcvii (1910), 341–5, 357–60.

[4] Seiner, op. cit.; J. C. B. Statham, *With my Wife across Africa by Canoe and Caravan*, London, 1924, 255–7; J. H. Wilhelm, "Aus dem Wortschatz der !Kun- und der Hukwe-Buschmannsprachen," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 291–304.

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619 physical characters and certain aspects of their culture, these tribes
197 differ somewhat from the Naron and allied tribes, but their languages are of the same type.

619 South-east of Lake Ngami, in and around the Hainaveld, live the *Tserekwe*, *ǂdukwe*, and *ǂkabakwe*.[1] Further east, along the Botletle River and the south-east Okavango basin, are the *Ohekwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaTete*. Closely related to them are the *MaHura*, who live along the Lower Botletle and Lake Kumadau, extending in the east to the Makarrikarri depression.[2] The name these people are known by is obviously of Bantu origin; what they call themselves has not been recorded. Finally, in the Tati district on the eastern border of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and extending into the adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, are still other Bushmen, whose own name is apparently *Hiechware*, "people of the open country,"[3] but who are commonly spoken of simply as *MaSarwa*, a name which, as previously mentioned, is applied by the BeChwana to Bushmen
[177 generally. All these tribes have evidently been long exposed to Bantu
144] influence, and are strongly mixed with Bantu blood. Some of them still lead their traditional mode of life, but they are all to some extent subject to their Bantu neighbours, often acting as their huntsmen and cattle herds, as well as being required to pay them a regular tribute.

In addition to the tribes included in these main linguistic groups, there are two other groups of Bushmen of whom mention must be made. In the coastal province of Mossamedes, South-West Angola, a number of Bushmen are found between the Capondo River on the north and the Korocas River on the south.[4] Very little is actually known of them. They are spoken of only by their Bantu names—
[177 *BaKwando*, *BaKwisso*, *BaKubai*, and *BaKorocas*—and appear to
144] have been considerably influenced in race and culture by the neighbouring Bantu. Their distribution suggests that they may belong to the Northern Group of Bushmen, but as no information is available about their language this cannot be definitely asserted.

619 The other group comprises the few isolated inhabitants of the
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[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 25; R. Pöch, "Ethnographische und geographische Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," *Petermann's Mitt.*, lviii (1912), 15–20 and map.

[2] Passarge, loc. cit.; Pöch, op. cit.

[3] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37–112; *idem*, "Tati Bushmen," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xii (1921), 205–8; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925.

[4] J. Oliviera Ferreira Diniz, *Populações indígenas de Angola*, Coimbra, 1918, 477–91.

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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] 619
Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said [197]
to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *ǂganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are [162]
estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in [532]
1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is 144
quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and 197
culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have 184
fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters 144
that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

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[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

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144 coming from the BaRotse and the BeChwana, is more strongly marked, especially in the Okavango-Zambesi basin. Here the Bushman tribes such as the Hukwe and the Galikwe, who have been longest in contact with the Bantu, are found to diverge most in appearance from the true Bushman type as seen south of the Molopo.

177 184 In culture, again, the Namib Bushmen and those south of the Molopo River form a separate division; the latter especially have apparently been little affected by foreign influences, and in features such as art, ritual, and mythology have developed along special lines. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, have obviously been influenced in technology and several other aspects by contact with alien peoples. Their culture has consequently been modified and has deviated somewhat from that of their southern relatives. The North-Western tribes (Auen, Naron, and Kung) have certain well-marked features of social organization and religion not noticed further south, while the Heikum in many aspects of their culture show unmistakable signs of Hottentot and South-Western Bantu influence. The other Kalahari tribes, especially those to the north-east and in the extreme east, have been considerably influenced in material culture and to some extent also in religious beliefs and practices by the Chwana tribes among whom they live.

184 These differences are important. At the same time, it must be noted that little is known of the Namib Bushmen, who now live as scattered remnants. The Southern Bushmen also are now almost completely extinct, and the only aspect of their culture at all carefully investigated is religion and mythology, preserved in the texts collected by Bleek, Lloyd, and Orpen. The North-Western tribes, on the other hand, are the most fully studied of all. It is possible therefore that some of the differences apparent between them and other Bushmen may be due simply to lack of the relevant information about the latter. The North-Eastern tribes, again, have not yet been investigated with the thoroughness and detail they deserve. Here also the possibility remains that further knowledge about them may reveal more features in common with the other Bushmen than are at present observable.

Numbers

161 The distribution of the Bushmen over so many distinct political areas, their general inaccessibility, their nomadic hunting life and consequent habit of living in small separate bands all combine to render difficult any attempt to arrive at a comprehensive figure of

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161 their numbers. To this must be added the fact that observers do not always clearly discriminate them from the Hottentots. Of the various estimates previously made, the majority go back some fifteen or twenty years, and offer little safe guidance to present conditions. The only area for which fairly reliable figures of recent date are available is South-West Africa, where in 1926 there were officially stated to be 3,600 Bushmen.[1] This figure would therefore include the Auen, Heikum, most of the Kung, a few of the Naron, the /nu//en, and other small tribes on the south-eastern border, and the remnants of the Namib Bushmen. Adopting it as a rough guide, one may safely assume that all the other Bushmen still found in Angola, the Kalahari desert, and the western districts of Southern Rhodesia, together with the few individuals in other parts, will be at least as numerous, especially when it is remembered that the Kalahari is the centre of the region now occupied by the Bushmen. We may therefore place the total number of Bushmen still in existence at a conservative minimum of about 7,000 to 7,500. Any more accurate estimate is impossible with the data at our disposal. The Bushmen may be far more numerous, but there is no ready means of ascertaining this. On the other hand, it is hardly likely, judging from even the limited data available, that they can be much fewer.

161 727 That formerly they were certainly far more numerous is unquestionable. The fact that they are now almost completely extinct in many parts where at one time they were found in large numbers is sufficient testimony to the great decrease they have suffered. This is especially noticeable in the Cape, where, as already mentioned, they were forcibly exterminated at the hands of successive invaders. In the case of the European settlers alone we know that during the eighteenth century frequent commandos were sent against the Bushmen in the attempt to end their depredations against stock. The figures available of the relentless destruction that followed make sad reading. In 1774, we are told, a commando in the Roggeveld killed 503 Bushmen and took 239 prisoners, while it is calculated that between the years 1785 and 1795 no fewer than 2,504 were killed and 669 made captive.[2] Since these by no means represent the total Bushman population of the Cape at that time, there is little reason to regard Fritsch's minimum estimate of 10,000 for the number of Bushmen

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[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for 1926* (Union of S. Africa Parliamentary Bluebook, U.G. 22, 1927), p. 28.

[2] G. E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. i, 1910, pp. 18–19.

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727 before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

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164 Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

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161 There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

Racial History

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144 By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

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[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.

[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee 1912/1913: Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 159; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

B H 193 194 197

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

B H 105

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

B H 144 194

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

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that the languages of both peoples belong to the same language family. It is possible also that their cultures were at one time essentially alike. The Hottentots, in other words, appear to have originally been a Bushman people. The differences now observable indicate, however, that they have diverged from the true Bushman type—to a slight extent only in race, but more noticeably in language, and above all, perhaps, in certain aspects of culture.[1]

These divergencies are generally attributed to the influence of Hamitic admixture. In support of this view may be adduced the fact that the grammatical peculiarities now separating the Hottentot languages from those of the Bushmen are characteristic of the Hamitic language family, while the cattle and sheep of the Hottentots are similar in breed to those of Equatorial and North-East Africa, originally introduced by the Hamites. It seems, therefore, that certain at least of the more important features which now distinguish the Hottentots from the Bushmen have been derived from some Hamitic source.

On the basis of this view, it is held by some writers that the Hottentots are a cross between early Hamitic-speaking pastoral invaders of South-West Africa and their Bushman forerunners. These invaders are said never to have been a numerous people, and to have largely recruited their female element from the Bushman tribes which they displaced, so that their type underwent a progressive change, until at last they had acquired many of the physical characters and a large element of the languages of the Bushmen.[2] According to this theory, the mixture of Hamites and Bushmen which produced the Hottentots would have taken place in South Africa. Against this having been the case may be urged not only the relatively late appearance of the Hottentots in South Africa, but also the small variability in their physical characters, as well as the absence of evidence for such intermixture on a large scale in historic times. On the other hand, the existence in Tanganyika Territory of Sandawe, a click language possessing numerous root and grammatical affinities with the Hottentot languages, and like them apparently owing its origin to a mixture of Bushman and Hamitic languages, suggests

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[1] For a discussion of the evidence on which this conclusion is based see I. Schapera, "A Preliminary Consideration of the Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 833–66.

[2] This view is most clearly expressed by F. von Luschan, *The Racial Affinities of the Hottentots*, London, 1907 (reprinted from *Addresses and Papers delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and South African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii); *idem*, "Hamitische Typen," in Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912, pp. 242–3; cf. also F. Stuhlmann, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, Hamburg, 1910, pp. 140–1, 147.

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that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

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The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were slowly pushing westwards along the southern coast of South Africa.

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

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[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 267–8; A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.

162 whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution [144] further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. [103] Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have [177] Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

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619 The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hüttentüt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

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177 Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

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[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Pettman, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *[illegible]* (? *[illegible]*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical 147 groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana, and the Naman.

The CAPE HOTTENTOTS were the people found by the first European 619 settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Naman. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hancumqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, [103] were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that [162] about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different 619 groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons. 177

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[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: J. G. Grevenbroek, *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanae circa Promontorium Capitis Bonae Spei vulgo Hottentotten nuncupatae descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1695), published in a Dutch translation by von Oordt under the title "Uit den Ouden Tijd", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1886; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum, das ist vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 263–342.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately spelt so inaccurately in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the name according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (-*kwa* or -*qua* in the Cape Hottentot dialect). The versions given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

619 177 But the intimate and prolonged contact into which they[1] now cam with European culture ultimately resulted in their complete disintegration. Wars with the settlers and imported diseases, such a smallpox, led to a rapid decline in the numbers of the people. Eve more effective, however, in destroying their original status was th [144] very considerable amount of miscegenation that from the first year of the settlement began to take place between them and the whit settlers and imported East Indian slaves. It is questionable whethe at the present time a single pure-blooded individual of this divisio can still be met with, and naturally all semblance of their origina culture and tribal groupings has long since vanished.

619 A few of the groups, resenting the intrusion of the Europeans, early began to trek away inland from the vicinity of the settlement. One of these groups, the Kora, which moved away towards the end of the seventeenth century, is said to have formed the nucleu of the present Korana division. Another group, the Grigriqua or [144] Chariguriqua, after receiving a considerable infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it was gradually joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community.[1]

The line of division between the CAPE and the EASTERN HOTTENTOTS is not easy to draw. From the records of the early travellers it appears, however, that the groups which can be regarded as belonging to the latter included, amongst others, the *Inqua*, probably in the present district of Aberdeen, the *Damaqua*, between the Gamtoos and Swartkops Rivers, and the *Gonaqua*, at first apparently an insignificant

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[1] On the history of the Hottentots in relation to the European settlers, cf. G. M. Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa, South of the Zambesi, before* 1795, 3 vols., London, 1910, *passim*; Fritsch, op. cit., 449 sqq.; Barthel, op. cit., 20–33; W. M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question, a Historical Survey*, London, 1927. The early history of the Griqua is fully described by Stow, op. cit., pp. 316–403; cf. also Fritsch, op. cit., 376–84.

[1] [i.e., The Cape Hottentots.—Analyst]

Nama

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tribe, who by the middle of the eighteenth century had become the most powerful group of Hottentots in the east, and extended from the Sundays River to the Great Fish River. Very little is actually known of these people, especially as regards their social habits and customs. They are said to have differed slightly in appearance from the Cape Hottentots, the result of intermixture with the neighbouring Bantu, and their language was also different in some respects. They have now apparently all been exterminated or absorbed by other races. They were the first Hottentots to come into contact with the Bantu invaders along the south coast, and it is largely as a result of both conflict and intermixture with these more powerful neighbours that they have become so completely effaced.[1]

The KORANA or !KORA are, as already noted, traditionally the descendants of the Kora or Gorachouqua, who, originally resident in the Cape Peninsula, began to draw away inland from the Dutch settlement towards the end of the seventeenth century. Their history for the last two hundred years has been one of continual strife with the Europeans on the one hand, and later with the Bantu as well. During the early half of the eighteenth century they gradually moved north-eastwards towards the Middle Orange, and by the end of the century they had been forced across that river to seek refuge round the junction of the Vaal and the Harts. They were found in 1813 by Campbell in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Old Lithakao, and later on settled at Bethany, under the influence of the Berlin Mission. For a time they managed to preserve their original status, and by about 1850 are said to have been divided into seventeen different groups numbering altogether some 20,000 persons. But by 1870 their tribal units had also become completely destroyed, chiefly as the result of disastrous fights with the neighbouring BaSuto. They have since declined considerably in numbers, and no semblance of their original organization now survives. They have mixed freely with the Bantu and with half-breeds, and although it is said that a number of racially pure individuals are still to be found, the majority of the present Korana have certainly a good deal of foreign blood in them.[2] [144]

The fourth and best-known division of the Hottentots are the

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[1] A summary of the early literature relating to these tribes is given by J. Hewitt, "Notes relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Eastern Province," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), pp. 304 sqq., esp. 308–15. The most useful account of the Gonaqua is in F. le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance dans les Années* 1780–5, 2 vols, Paris, 1790, esp. vol. ii, pp. 18 sqq.

[2] Fritsch, op. cit., 360–76; Stow, op. cit., 267–315.

OLD BONDELSWART (!GAMI ǂNUN) MAN

L. Schultze

OLD TOPNAAR (ǂAUNIN) WOMAN

[face p. 48

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619 NAMAN, spoken of more frequently as the Namaqua.[1] They were classified by the early Dutch settlers into two main groups: the *Little Namaqua*, living south of the Orange River in what is now Little Namaqualand, and the *Great Namaqua*, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South-West Africa. Both these groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and in the early days the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. But the Great Namaqua were always the most northerly group of Hottentots, and probably formed the rear-guard of their invasion of South Africa. Early in historical times they were settled definitely in the country north of the Orange River, where for a considerable time they held undisputed sway.

The Great Namaqua were subdivided into seven tribal groups, with one or two minor offshoots all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors. These groups were the *Gei ||Khauan* (often known by their Dutch name *Rooi Natie*), the survivors of which are now resident at Hoachanas; the *!Gami ǂNun* (*Bondelswarts*), in the district of Warmbad, just north of the Orange River; the *||Haboben* (*Veldskoendragers*), round Koes and Hasuur; the *!Khara Gei Khoin* (*Simon Coppers* or *Franzmanns*), formerly found along the Auob River at Gokhas, but now living in British Bechuanaland south-east of Rietfontein S.; the *||Khau |Goan* (*Swartboois*), who lived at Rehoboth till about 1870, when they removed first to Ameib, and then to Fransfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld, where they are now found; the *||O Gein* (*Groot Doode*), who formerly roamed about the upper courses of the Great Fish River, but ceased to exist some fifty years ago as a result of inter-tribal quarrels and wars against the OvaHerero; and the *ǂAunin* or *!Naranin* (*Topnaars*), of whom some live round Zesfontein in the Kaokoveld and the others at Walvis Bay.

At the present time there are also found in South-West Africa,

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[1] The main sources of information on the habits and customs of the Naman are: J. H. Wikar, "Berigt aan den . . . Heer Joachim van Plettenberg (1778–9)," published in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd* (3 vols., 1916–22), vol. ii, 78–138; T. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," *Globus*, xii (1867); *idem*, *Tsuni-||Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi*, London, 1881; Fritsch, op. cit., 343–65; J. Olpp, *Angra Pequena und Gross Namaland*, 1884; H. von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, Magdeburg n.d. (1896); J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; C. Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien* (ed. S. R. Steinmetz), Berlin, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman und Bergdaman," *Z. KolPol.*, xi (1909), 657–86; L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, pp. 170–549; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of !nau among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), 65–82; *idem*, "The Expression of the Social Value of Water among the Naman of South-West Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 514–26; *idem*, "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of South-west Africa," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24; H. Vedder, "The Nama," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, 109–52.

619 besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, [144] before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general [191] culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Orlams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *//Aixa //ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the */Hobesen* or *Witboois*, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the *!Aman* or *Bethanie Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the */Hei /khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei /khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange [177 River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been 144 completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older [191] people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the OvaHerero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have [144] further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

161 These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

161 the latest official figures available (1926), there are 15,376 people classified as "Hottentots".[1] No attempt appears to have been made to discriminate pure-blooded people from those of mixed blood, or to arrive at an estimate of the numbers belonging to each tribe, but the figure may be taken as on the whole fairly reliable. In the census reports of the Union, on the other hand, all the Hottentots are merged with half-breeds, Malays, etc., under the general heading "Mixed and Other Coloured". Consequently no idea at all can be formed of their present numbers, although there are undoubtedly still a considerable number of people, especially in Little Namaqualand, who from the racial standpoint can certainly be regarded as Hottentots. The latest population returns for what is now the Union in which the official classification "Hottentots" still appears are those of the 1904 census, which give the number of "Hottentots" in the Cape as 85,892, and of "Korannas" as 1,138, while the number of "Hottentots" in Orange Free State is given as 2,785.[2] By this time, however, the term "Hottentot" signified little more than "half-breed", and few of the people included under it were pure-blooded, although the number in whom Hottentot blood was strongly marked was officially estimated at 56,000.

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177 Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots must be regarded as a disappearing people. In the early days in the Cape, and more recently in Orange Free State and South-West Africa, disease and war contributed to diminish their numbers, but by far the most important factor of all has been miscegenation, which has taken place on a very extensive scale between them and the European settlers and other peoples. A large proportion of Hottentot blood is to be found in the people still commonly spoken of in the Cape as "Hottentots", as well as in the various communities of recognized half-breeds, such as the Griqua, the Rehoboth "Basters" and the Komaggas "Basters"; but Hottentots of pure blood are now in a marked minority, and there is no reason to doubt that they too will ultimately become absorbed into the "coloured" population of South Africa. Their native culture, where it has not been completely displaced, has at least been considerably affected by the intrusion of European elements, and, except in South-West Africa, their own language is also steadily giving way to Afrikaans.

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[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for 1926* (U.G. 22-'27), p. 28.

[2] Quoted in *The South African Natives: Their Progress and Present Condition* (ed. by the S.A. Native Races Committee), London, 1908, p. 7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot

Bushmen FX 10

CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS: DRESS AND DECORATION

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE BUSHMEN

144 IN appearance there are many features which readily distinguish the Bushmen from all the other inhabitants of South Africa save the Hottentots, and which may therefore be taken as characteristic of them. These distinctive features are best seen in the Bushmen south of the Molopo River, who may be regarded as purest in type. The tribes further north have all been affected to some extent by racial intermixture with other peoples, and tend consequently to vary in certain respects. But they are fundamentally of the same racial stock.[1]

141 The most conspicuous feature in the appearance of the Southern Bushmen is their small stature. Accurate measurements are unfortunately very scanty. The most reliable figures are those given by Fritsch, who found that the average height of 6 men was 144·4 cm., and of 5 women 144·8 cm.[2] Von Luschan, who claimed to have measured 41 racially pure individuals, did not publish his figures in detail, but states that the average stature of both men and women is about 140 cm., and the maximum for pure-blooded people 146 cm.[3] Older but less trustworthy measurements give an even lower average. It may safely be taken therefore that the average stature is not more than 145 cm., but whether it is the same in both men and women must, in the absence of adequate data, be regarded as questionable.

North of the Molopo the stature increases. No figures are available

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[1] The best descriptions of the physical characters of the Bushmen are to be found in: G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 396–410; R. Virchow, "Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1886, 221–39; H. Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; R. Pöch, "Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *KorrBl. deuts. Ges. Anthrop.*, xlii (1911), 75–80; F. Seiner, "Beobachtungen und Messungen an Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xliv (1912), 275–88; *idem*, "Beobachtungen an den Bastard-Buschleuten der Nord-Kalahari," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xliii (1913), 311–24; *idem*, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; F. von Luschan, "Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76; R. Martin, "Zur Anthropologie der Buschmänner," in E. Kaiser, *Die Diamantenwüste Südwestafrikas*, 1926, vol. ii, pp. 436–90 and bibliography; L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, pp. 186–211 nd bibliography.

[2] Op. cit., 397.

[3] Op. cit., 155.

?: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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for the Bushmen immediately north of this river, but Pöch, w measured some of them, says that on the whole they are taller th the Southern tribes.[1] Among the Auen further north Kaufmann fou that the average height of the men is 151·5 cm. (min. 147, max. 16 and of the women 145·5 cm. (min. 138, max. 153). He does not sta the number of measurements taken.[2] For the Naron Schinz giv 157 cm. as the average stature of 50 individuals, with a minimum 149 cm. and a maximum of 167; he does not mention their sex, b from the context it is clear that they were all males.[3] Mr. Drury, the South African Museum, measured some members of this tri at Sandfontein, and his figures[4] give an average of 157 cm. for 16 me which agrees exactly with that obtained by Schinz, and of 150·1 cr for 13 women.

Fuller data are available for the Kung and Heikum, of whom large number were measured by Seiner. Among the Kung the averag stature of 74 men measured by him was 156·4 cm. (min. 142·2, ma 171·3) and of 18 women 148·2 cm. (min. 138·2, max. 158·3), whi in the case of the Heikum he found the average stature of 15 me to be 152·5 cm. (min. 148·6, max. 168·3).[5] Werner's figures for th Heikum are slightly higher; the average height of the 14 me measured by him was 155·3 cm., and of the 17 women 149·7 cm Further north, among the !O Kung of Angola, the stature increase slightly. Of the 22 men measured by Miss Bleek the tallest was 170 cm in height, the shortest 145·5 cm., and the average stature 159·3 cm while among the same number of women the tallest was 161·3 cm in height, the shortest 135, and the average 148·8 cm.[7]

It will be noticed that in these tribes there is an appreciabl difference in height between the two sexes. The average for me ranges between about 152 and 159 cm., and that for women betwee about 145 and 150 cm. The lowest averages are found among th Auen to the south, and the highest among the !O Kung, who are th most northerly of these tribes.

No detailed measurements have been recorded for the Bushmer of the Eastern Kalahari, but Dornan says of the Hiechware that they are " taller than the Cape Bushmen and quite as tall as the Bechuanas

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[1] " Reisen im Innern Südafrikas zum Studium der Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlii (1910), 35
[2] " Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 136.
[3] *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891, p. 393.
[4] Obtained by courtesy of the South African Museum.
[5] *Z. Ethn.*, xliv (1912), 277.
[6] Op. cit., 242.
[7] " Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 108.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot

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Such individuals as I have measured ranged from 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] up to 5 ft. 9 in. [175·3 cm.]. A few were below or above these figures, but the average height may be taken at 5 ft. 5 in." [168 cm.].[1] Elsewhere he adds that "the women are usually considerably shorter than the men; those that I have measured ranged from 4 ft. 9¾ in. [146·8 cm.] up to 5 ft. 2½ in." [158·8 cm.], and he gives 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] as their average height.[2] The Hukwe and the Galikwe apparently attain to a still greater stature. Both Livingstone and Chapman speak of individuals fully 6 ft. tall (183 cm.), and the latter places the average stature of the "MaDenassena", i.e. Galikwe, at 5 ft. 10 in. (177·8 cm.).[3] According to Seiner the members of this tribe range in stature between 162 and 184 cm.,[4] and Wilhelm says of the Hukwe that statures of between 170 and 190 cm. must be regarded as normal.[5] 141

These figures show that on the whole the Bushmen north of the Molopo are distinctly taller than their Southern relatives, and it is evident that the further north and east we go the taller do they become. It has been suggested by several writers that this increase in stature is due to better conditions of subsistence. It is hardly justifiable, however, to assume that the Bushmen living within or on the borders of the Kalahari Desert could obtain better nourishment than those in the Cape, where water and food supply are on the whole much more favourable. It seems rather that we must look upon the pygmy stature of the Southern Bushmen as a true racial characteristic, and that the increased stature of the Northern tribes must be attributed to the influence of racial intermixture with other and taller peoples. This conclusion is borne out by several other features, of which the most evident perhaps is skin coloration. [144]

In the Southern Bushmen the skin colour varies from light yellow to brownish-yellow. In the tribes just north of the Molopo some families are of the same colour, while others have darker tinges of varying shades—a patently new mixture. The Auen, Naron, and Kung have a fairly constant reddish-brown colour, although individuals incline more to yellow or to black. Among the !O Kung, according to Miss Bleek, some individuals are blackish-yellow, others reddish-brown or copper colour, others again are almost black, although 142 144

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[1] "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas)," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 43.

[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 1925, p. 79.

[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in S. Africa*, 1857, p. 165; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of S. Africa*, 1868, vol. i, p. 46.

[4] *Mitt. dtsch. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 299.

[5] *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 300.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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142 144 lighter in shade than the Bantu of the same region; and she adds that in Bushman-Bantu crosses the first generation of children may be either yellowish or blackish, while later generations, where both parents have a little Bantu blood, show the reddish-brown colour which distinguishes these Northern Bushmen from the Southern.[1] The colour of the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, says Dornan, "is usually darker than in the typical Bushman, but even it is not constant. I have met individuals of the brownish-yellow colour of the Southern Bushmen, and even amongst these there were individuals of a very dark type."[2] The same range of variation is found among the North-Eastern tribes, where, however, the dominant shade is a dark chocolate colour approaching that of the Bantu.

141 142 144 It appears moreover that the light-coloured individuals in the tribes just north of the Molopo are comparatively short, while the darker individuals are all of greater height. The same is probably true of the Hiechware, while Kaufmann writes of the Auen that the band living at Gam, in the northernmost part of the tribal territory, consists almost entirely of proportionately tall individuals, whose colour is darker than that of the rest of the tribe.[3] If these observations are accurate, and they need to be tested by statistical investigation, they would provide an excellent indication of the lines along which the still necessary detailed study may be made of the variations produced in the physical characters of the Bushmen by intermixture with other peoples. In any case, if we bear in mind the advance of the Bantu peoples from the north-east and the extent to which the different Bushman tribes have therefore been exposed to contact with them, it need occasion no surprise that the most northern and eastern tribes show on the whole the greatest stature and darkest colour.

Seiner, indeed, definitely terms the Bushman tribes of the Northern Kalahari "Bastard-Buschleute". His general remarks on their characteristics may be quoted as a concise statement of the extent to which mixture with other peoples has taken place in this region. "Das Gebiet der Bastard-Buschleute," he says,[4] "liegt ganz in der südlichen Zone der Nord-Kalahari, zwischen dem südangolesischen Hochland und dem Kaokoveld einerseits, sowie dem Matabeleland und Nordost-Rhodesia anderseits . . . Dieses Gebiet wird durch den Okawango in einen grossen westlichen und in einen kleineren

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[1] "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop.*, N.F. xxi (1927), 48.
[2] *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 42.
[3] Op. cit., 316.
[4] *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 283–4.

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östlichen Teil geschieden. Während nun in der westlichen Bastard- 141
zone, sowie in der Süd- und Mittel-Kalahari die Buschmannstämme
mehr von Hottentotten als von Negern durchdrungen sind, ist die 142
Zersetzung der Buschmannrasse in der östlichen Zone, dem 144
Okawango-Sambesi-Gebiet, häuptsächlich auf die Vermischung mit
Bantu zurückzuführen. Der eigentliche Rassentypus ist wohl sehr verwischt, kommt aber in der Mehrzahl der Fälle doch so stark zum Ausdruck, dass man diese Bastarde unbedingt zu den Buschleuten rechnen muss. Die Individuen neigen in Physiognomie und Wuchs bald mehr dem Neger, bald mehr dem Buschmann zu. Zwischen dem eckigen Buschmannkopf und dem runden Schädel des Negers sind die verschiedensten Verbindungen vorhanden, und von der fahlgelben bzw. rötlichgelben Hautfarbe der Buschleute bis zur rötlichschwarzbraunen Farbe der Neger zeigen sich zahlreiche Übergänge. Bereits Livingstone berichtet, dass die nördlich des Ngamisees, also in der Nord-Kalahari, lebenden Buschleute grösser, kräftiger und dunkelfarbiger seien als jene der südlichen Steppen. Tatsächlich sind in der östlichen Bastardzone Menschen von 170 cm. häufig, und diese Beobachtung war auch der Hauptgrund, dieses Menschengruppe nicht ohne weiteres als Buschleute anzuerkennen, da die Variationsbreite der Körpergrösse der letzteren zwischen 140 bis 160 cm. liegt. Am Okawango, an dem die westlichen Bastardzone beginnt, sind Individuen von 170 cm. Körperhöhe seltener und ist der Prozentsatz an ausgeprägten Buschmanntypen grösser, welcher Umstand vielleicht einen stärkeren Neigung zu Rückschlägen zugeschrieben werden könnte."

It may be taken therefore, although only stature and skin colour have so far been touched upon as the most apparent indications of variation, that the Southern Bushmen do actually represent the purest Bushman type, while the Northern tribes all show some degree of intermixture with other peoples. They are, however, of undoubted Bushman stock, and although in the following brief survey of the principal racial characters of the Bushmen the Southern tribes have been taken as the standard type, it must be understood that save where otherwise indicated the description applies equally to all the Bushmen.

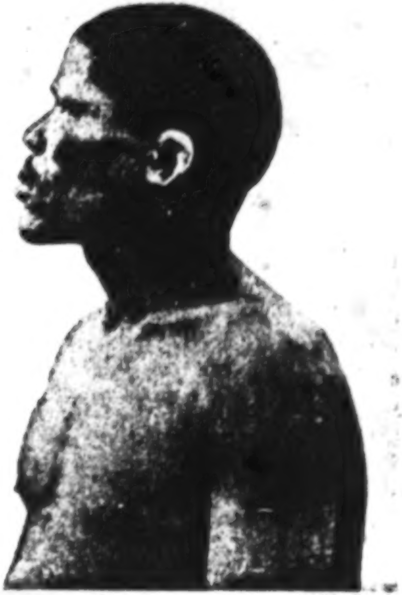
The skin itself of the Bushmen is very dry and lean, with little 142
adipose tissue. It readily forms into deep wrinkles and folds, especially
on the face, even in fairly young and well-nourished people. In
the Northern tribes, and chiefly in the "Bastard" Bushmen, the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

[facing p. 56]

L. Schultze

NAMIB BUSHMAN (//OBANEN GROUP)



A. M. Cronin

/XAM (CAPE) BUSHMAN
Notice the characteristic shape of the ear

142

[*face p.* 56

142 tendency to fold is not so excessive, wrinkled features being comparatively rare in young people. There is very little hair on the body. The greater part of its surface seems completely bare; the arm-pits have only a weak show of hair, and even in the pubic regions the growth is very sparse. It is only on the scalp and occasionally on the eyebrows that the hair is at all thick. Rudimentary and irregular traces of beard and moustache are sometimes seen in the men, but rarely grow to any length or thickness. The hair is black in colour, and becomes grey only in very old people; baldness is extremely rare, even in advanced age. The hair is commonly very short and fine, but occasionally may be fairly long on the head of a woman. Such occurrences, however, seem to be rare, and it cannot be said that length of hair is a secondary sexual characteristic in the Bushmen. The hairs are tightly coiled into small spiral knots (not inappropriately referred to in popular speech as "peppercorns") which on the scalp appear to be separated by bare spots, but actually the hair follicles are distributed as in other races. In section the hair presents an elliptical contour.

The head in the Southern Bushmen is small and relatively broad 141 (mesocephalic), and markedly low in the crown (platycephalic). The 142 face is broad and flat, somewhat rectangular in shape, and generally orthognathous or only slightly prognathous. The forehead is low and bulging, the cheek-bones fairly prominent, and the lower jaw relatively broad. In the Northern tribes there is a slight but distinct tendency for the head to be narrower and higher, the face appears longer and more oval in shape, and a fair degree of prognathism is [144] often noticed. Among the Kung, and particularly among the !O Kung, one sometimes finds long narrow faces with aquiline noses and almost Semitic features, hinting at some new racial component which still remains to be determined; but even in these tribes the small rectangular Bushman facial type crops up in a number of faces with more or less negroid features.

142 The nose is generally low and very broad, especially at the root. As seen in profile, it is short and concave, but is set well back and often appears quite flat. The wings are broad, and the nostrils, which are directed forwards, have a curious splayed-out appearance. The orbits are low and the eyes set rather wide apart. The opening between the eyelids is very narrow, and often appears slightly oblique, owing to the remarkable fullness of the upper lid and the fact that a prominent fold of skin curves round from above it to the side of

142 the nose and completely covers the inner canthus of the eye. This feature has often given rise to comparisons with the Mongolian eye, and even to a completely erroneous suggestion of racial affinity between the Bushmen and the Chinese. The iris is dark brown in colour, and the small pupil often appears to blend with it. In the Northern tribes Seiner found that in the majority of cases both this characteristic fold of the upper eyelid and the narrow opening were present, although he notes that as the proportion of foreign blood increases the opening becomes wider.

The ear is another specially characteristic feature of the Bushmen. Fritsch speaks of "great, ugly ears which stand away from the head", but this description is erroneous. The true Bushman ear is short and broad, with very little or even no trace of a lobe; the upper border is almost horizontal at its commencement, and the lower border is, as it were, pressed right into the cheeks. The helix is broad and almost completely rolled in, and there is no trace of the Darwinian tubercle. Among the Kung and the Heikum Seiner found this characteristic ear present in about half the cases he examined; the rest tended to have large ears and fairly well-developed lobes.

The lips are rather thin, though a false suggestion of thickness is often conveyed by the fact that the mucous membrane is generally everted. The upper lip, seen in profile, is slightly convex. The lower lip generally projects slightly beyond the upper, and thus heightens the snout-like appearance of the mouth, as does also the retreating chin, which is of medium size and mostly rounded, although in the Northern tribes it tends to become pointed. The teeth are as a rule white and sound, though often worn down considerably in old people. Among the !O Kung, however, the teeth are said by Miss Bleek to be "very bad" even amongst the boys and girls; "probably this is a result of their living on meal and soft food, as their Kalahari brethren living on wild vegetables have most magnificent teeth."[1]

The body generally is slim in build, but well proportioned, and in spite of the small stature of the Southern Bushmen there is no suggestion of dwarfishness in their appearance. The limbs are slender, and the muscles on them form firm and well-marked cord-like projections, but the joints are large and prominent, and often give the limbs a somewhat unsightly appearance. The arms and legs are rather short in relation to the length of the trunk, in fact the Bushman

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[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 106–7.

142 [141] arm is the shortest on record. In the Northern tribes measured by Seiner and Werner the index of span-breadth to stature is just over 100, whereas in Europeans it is about 103 and in the Central African Pygmies as much as 106. The hands and feet are very small and narrow in proportion, the fingers and toes short and stumpy.

The outline of the body is sunken and angular, and all projections are strongly marked. The shoulders are angular, and the shoulder-blades and collar-bones stand out very strongly, owing to the thinness of the muscles and the lack of adipose tissue in the skin. The chest as a rule is fairly well developed, though its appearance is sometimes vitiated by the variable conditions of the abdomen, and especially [262] by the frequent occurrence of a pendulous belly, chiefly in young people, as the result of unfavourable diet, unrestricted gorging, and the frequent alternation between starvation and plenty. Where the food supply is at all regular, this abnormal protuberance is rarely seen. The buttocks are small but often seem prominent owing to the curious inward curvature of the spine in the lumbo-sacral region. [147] The penis, even when not in a state of erection, often extends horizontally in a semi-erect condition. This remarkable feature, portrayed also in many of the Bushman paintings of human beings, has been regarded by some recent writers, such as von Luschan and Seiner, as a special racial characteristic of the Bushmen.

The Northern Bushmen do not differ very markedly in build from their Southern relatives, although the "Bastard" tribes are on the whole better developed physically. They have stronger limbs, with arms and legs slightly longer in proportion; the shoulders are more rounded, and the chest seen to better advantage. The protuberant abdomen and the marked hollow of the back due to the lumbo-sacral curvature are present in most individuals. The hands and feet are [147 144] slightly bigger, the fingers and toes longer. The horizontal projection of the penis was noted by Seiner in about three-fifths of the men he examined. He states that with admixture of Bantu blood it begins to droop, so that there does appear to be some racial significance attached to this feature. Its occurrence has not yet been physiologically explained, although Seiner suggests that it may be due to a strong development of the *Ligamentum suspensorium penis*.

142 147 The female body, like that of the male, is generally slender, the limbs slight, the hands and feet small. In mature women, however, there is often found a strong accumulation of fat on the thighs and especially on the buttocks, a character known as steatopygia, which

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

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may occasionally be seen in the men also. Strongly-marked steatopygia is not very frequent, however, and in spite of the many statements to the contrary it cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity. Fritsch, indeed, and other acute observers even look upon the occurrence of steatopygia in Bushwomen as indicating the presence of Hottentot blood. However this may be, it is certain that steatopygia is not as prominent a feature of Bushwomen as is sometimes asserted. In the Northern Bushwomen it seldom occurs.

The breasts in young girls are small and conical, with well-marked nipples; after puberty they become somewhat pendulous, and in the older women who have given birth to several children they hang very low and are often in an extremely shrivelled condition. The genital organs are notable for a frequent hypertrophy of the labia minora—the so-called "Hottentot apron"—which are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 10 cm. beyond the rima pudendi. This appears to be a physiological feature, and not artificially produced by manipulation, as has sometimes been suggested. It is found in the Northern tribes also, but is not peculiar to Bushwomen, since it is common among the Hottentots as well as among various East African peoples.

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It will be seen from this description that all the Bushmen are on the whole fundamentally of the same physical type, although the Northern tribes vary in certain features from the Southern. It is impossible to draw any clear-cut line of distinction between the different tribes. There is rather a continuous gradation of characters, the type gradually becoming more impure the further north and east we go. The general tendency is for the Northern Bushmen to be taller, often considerably taller, than their Southern relatives; they have a darker colour, and better muscular development, relatively narrower and higher heads and faces, and show certain negroid characteristics in their facial features and bodily build. These divergent tendencies, it is evident, are the result of racial intermixture with other peoples, principally Bantu negroids; and the process of intermixture is still continuing. Seiner's designation of these Northern tribes as "Bastard Bushmen" is well founded, and there can be no doubt that they are all by now to some extent at least a hybrid people as far as physical characters are concerned.

HOTTENTOTS

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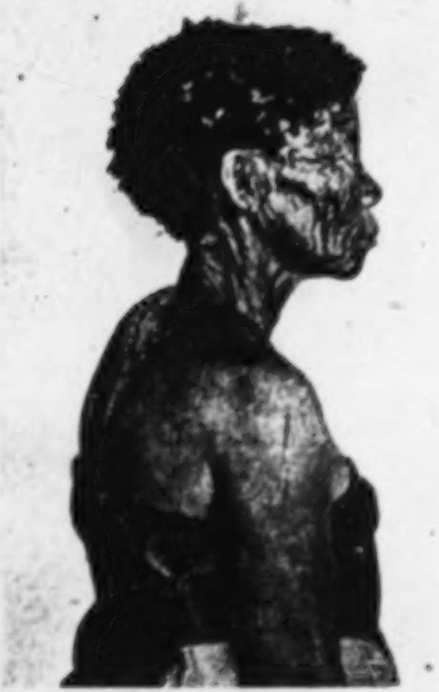
The Hottentots resemble the Southern Bushmen very closely in appearance. It is only in stature and shape of the head that significant

PLATE IV

[Facing p.60]



KORA (HOTTENTOT) WOMAN
Notice the excessive facial wrinkling

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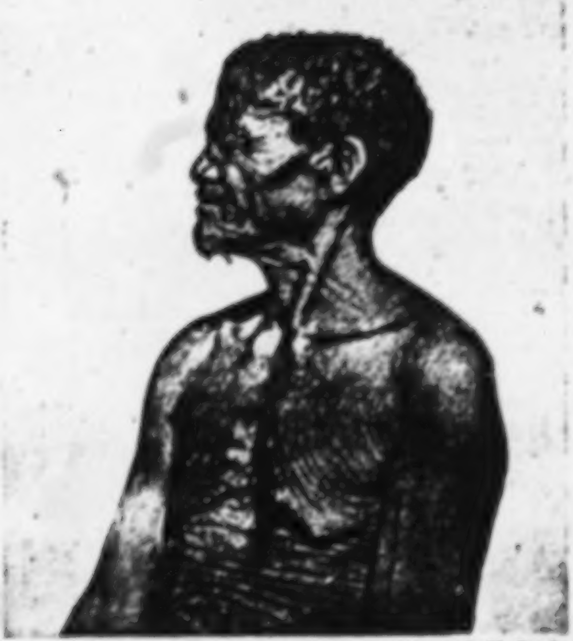

A. M. [illegible]

"MOSARWA" BUSHMAN, S. KALAHARI

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[illegible]

2: Schapera 2-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

141 differences between the two peoples can be detected. Amongst themselves the Hottentots vary but slightly, save, of course, where there
142 has been much recent intermixture with other peoples. Among the
[144] Korana, for instance, who have absorbed a good deal of Bantu blood, one may often notice individuals who differ from the normal Hottentot type in being of a darker complexion and in having a greater development of hair on the head and face, coarser features and broader noses. But in pure-blooded Hottentots the physical type is on the whole fairly uniform in all the divisions. The following description may therefore be regarded as a general survey of those characters which can be looked upon as common to all people of the normal Hottentot type.[1]

In stature they are mostly of medium height. The fullest series
141 of measurements are those given by Schultze for the Naman. He found that in 73 men the mean height was 162·4 cm., although the individual statures ranged from a minimum of 150·5 cm. to a maximum of 176·5 cm.; while in 27 women the mean was 149·7 cm. (min. 135·5, max. 162·5). The measurements recorded by other writers and of other groups of Hottentots correspond closely with these figures. The Hottentots thus appear to be appreciably taller than the Cape Bushmen, but only slightly taller than the North-Western Bushmen; while, on the other hand, they are on the whole somewhat smaller than the North-Eastern Bushmen.

Their skin colour is predominantly a light brownish-yellow, somewhat lighter in some cases than even in the Cape Bushmen. The skin itself is dry, and on the whole has little adipose tissue; it also displays the same propensity to fold as in the case of the Bushmen. In young people it is drawn smoothly over the muscles and bones, and has a certain pleasing and taut appearance. But in adults, and in particular in women who have borne children, its appearance is completely changed: the skin of the abdomen becomes flabby, and deep wrinkles readily form there, on the chest and on the face. There is little hair on the body; the arm-pits, pubes, and other parts are very sparsely covered with it, while the beard and moustache in men are only feebly developed. The hair is black and short, and has the same "peppercorn" formation which characterizes the Bushmen. It rarely turns

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[1] The most exhaustive analysis of the physical characters of the Hottentots is found in the recent work of L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, esp. pp. 147–86. Of the earlier works the more important are Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 271–91 *et passim*, and E. Fischer, *Die Rehobother Bastards*, Jena, 1913, esp. pp. 57–134 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Bushmen FX 10

H 142 grey before about the sixtieth year, but baldness is rare, even in extreme old age.

B H 141 The head on the whole is long, narrow, and low—appreciably longer than in the Cape Bushmen, and slightly narrower and higher as well. This is best illustrated in the figures given by Schultze. In the 73 Hottentot (Nama) men measured by him, the mean maximum length of the head was 192 mm., the breadth 140 mm., and the height 116 mm., while in the 14 Bushmen (mostly from the Southern Kalahari) whose measurements he also records the corresponding dimensions were 187 mm., 142 mm., and 113 mm. The mean cephalic index of the Hottentots was 72·9 (max. 78·5, min. 67·1), and that of the Bushmen 75·8 (max. 78·2, min. 72·9); and whereas 57 per cent of the Bushmen were mesocephalic, the remaining 43 per cent being dolicocephalic, only 15 per cent of the Hottentots were mesocephalic, the remaining 85 per cent being dolicocephalic and hyperdolicocephalic. The length-height (altitudinal) index was the same in both cases, 60·3 (orthocephalic); but the lower height of the Bushman head is here neutralized by its smaller length. In the breadth-height index, on the other hand, the difference in the shape of the head is again apparent. The average in Hottentots is 82·8, that in Bushmen 79·5. It was found by Schultze that the form of the head in the Hottentots tends to alter in that, with higher stature, the head on the whole becomes longer and not broader (i.e. more dolicocephalic), and also higher (i.e. more orthocephalic). It will be noticed that the variations in shape of the Hottentot head as a whole from that of the Bushmen lie in the same direction. They may therefore possibly be correlated with the increased stature of the Hottentots as compared with the Cape Bushmen.

The face in the Hottentots is low and flat, but slightly longer and narrower in proportion than that of the Bushmen, and somewhat different in appearance. The forehead is low and narrow, but the cheekbones are high and prominent, and with the relatively narrower lower jaw and pointed, retreating chin give a triangular outline to the face. The nose is short and extremely broad, although slightly narrower in proportion than the Bushman nose: the nasal index is 100, while that of the Bushmen is 115. Both, however, are markedly platyrrhine. The bridge is very low, the nostrils wide and directed forwards. The eyes, especially in young people, have the same peculiar fold of the upper eyelid and very narrow opening which characterize the eyes of the Bushmen. The iris is also dark brown. The ear is

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somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

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[147]

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The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOTS

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

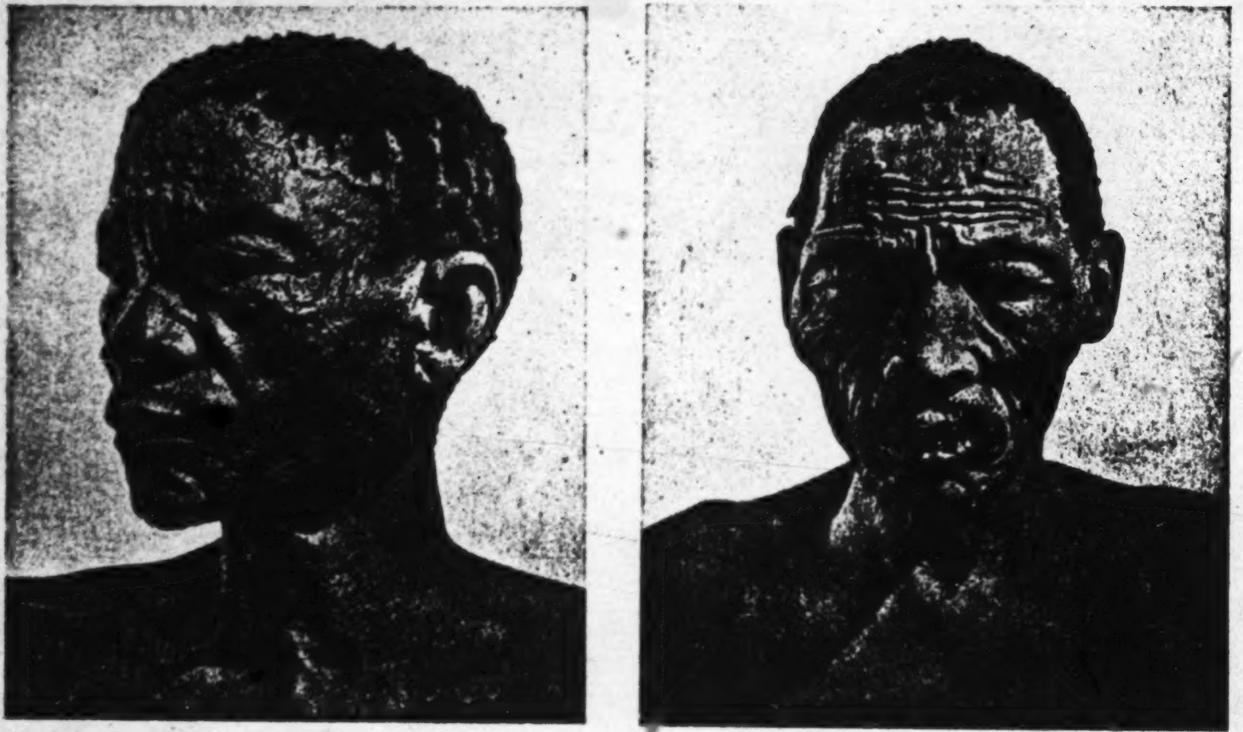
South Africa that we cannot but look upon these two peoples as very B
closely allied in race. Both the Cape Bushmen and the Hottentots H
have a brownish-yellow skin colour; black, spiral, sparsely-distributed 144
hair; low heads and faces, broad flat noses with low bridges, widely 141
separated eyes with narrow openings and a strong development of the 142
upper lid; steatopygia and elongation of the labia minora. The Hottentots, however, are taller; their heads are larger in length and height, and prevalently dolicocephalic; their faces slightly longer and more prognathous, and their noses slightly narrower; while steatopygia is also more common.

Now it has already been shown that the more northerly Bushmen are taller and darker than the Cape Bushmen, and that their heads tend to be longer and higher and proportionately narrower, while they have also a higher degree of prognathism. These divergencies, we have seen, are obviously the result of intermixture with other peoples, principally of negroid (Bantu) stock. In the Hottentots the differences from the Cape Bushmen in stature and the shape of the head are of the same nature as those found in the Northern Bushmen. On the other hand, they have the same skin colour as the Cape Bushmen, and certain peculiarities, such as steatopygia, which are more pronounced in them than even in the Bushmen, and which seldom occur in the Northern Bushmen.

In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the Northern B
Bushmen, it seems that we must look upon the Hottentots also as H
people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical 144
characters by intermixture with some other racial group. The prevalent
theory, as already mentioned, is that this new component was derived 141
from the light-skinned Hamitic stock. Shrubsall, however, working upon skeletal material alone, maintains that this theory is untenable, and that the new element in the composition of the Hottentots must have been of Bantu stock. "The appearance of the Hottentot skulls," he says, "in no way suggests any marked intermediate characters between those of Bushmen and of any more Hamitic race, while in the features in which they differ from the Bush crania they certainly resemble negroes . . . When the distribution of the various cranial and facial indices is compared it may be seen that the Hottentot in almost every case is intermediate between the Bushmen and the Bantu negroes . . . It can be shown that while the Hottentot measurements are in some respects intermediate between those of Bushmen and of Hamites, they are more nearly intermediate between the

PLATE V

[facing page 64]



L. Schultze

HOTTENTOT (‡AUNIN) MEN WITH HAMITIC FEATURES

[face p. 64

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

B H 144 141

Bushmen and the Bantu, and where they show this least they resemble the Sudanese negro more than the Hamite."[1]

B H 142 144

The fact that the Northern Bushmen, who have unquestionably been affected by racial intermixture with the Bantu, tend to diverge from the Cape Bushmen in the same cranial features as do the Hottentots might seem to support this view. On the other hand, these Northern Bushmen have also acquired a darker skin colour, while the Hottentots are as light in colour as the Cape Bushmen; and, again, as von Luschan has shown, occasionally one finds facial features in the Hottentots which are strongly reminiscent of the Hamitic type, and can only be regarded as reversions to it (cf. Plate V).[2] Schultze also comments upon the same fact, and shows that in several of the men whose physical characters he investigated statures well above the mean were combined with long faces and narrow noses, features indicative of Hamitic influence.[3] Moreover, although such evidence cannot be adduced as conclusive in a discussion of purely racial origins, it is surely not without some bearing upon this question that the languages of the Hottentots present affinities to those of the Hamitic language family, and that their cattle and sheep are of the breeds associated in Africa with Hamitic culture.

The craniological evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Hottentots are a true Bushman-Hamitic cross without a negro element; but the other factors noted suggest that some Hamitic element at least must have entered into the composition of the Hottentots. In this connection it must be mentioned that the Bantu themselves are negroes who have been affected to some extent by Hamitic admixture. Consequently the resemblance in cranial characters between the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen need not necessarily argue against the presence of Hamitic blood in the former. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having a predominantly Hamitic culture. The fact that the racially pure Hottentots now vary but slightly amongst themselves suggests that this intermixture which gave rise to them is of very long standing, and hence probably originated before they came into South Africa.

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[1] F. C. Shrubsall, "The Pygmy and Negro Races of Africa," *Lancet*, 1908 (January–June), p. 985.

[2] "Hamitische Typen," in C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, pp. 252–3.

[3] Op. cit., p. 213.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

281 291 Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European
influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the
skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1]
Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay
evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron.
[462] All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own
garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists
in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together
round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted
[177] on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe,
Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have
adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of
skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a
leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also
worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the
284 march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of
skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if
large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder
free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under
the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes
seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

281 On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right
415 shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small
possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons,
482 fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers
411 for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the
Southern and Namib Bushmen.

281 291 The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of
skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often
ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering
only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

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[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 255–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8: Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

281 291 also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders, more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

[854 855] Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be [862] their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

301 237 171 All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments. Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

301 Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

B
well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and 301
iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring [439]
Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand.
The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands,
worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule B
kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of 302
the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters
of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of B
inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small [301]
ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who B
have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub 515
their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, 302
a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds
of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with [415]
powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of
jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often
painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women B
and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours [386]
found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the
latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is
smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original H
Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been 291
almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European 177
pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be
seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible
to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before
European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their
universal dress.[1] H

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in 291
front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied 281

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[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

291 round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of
jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur
281 turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while
from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the
broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when
[415] they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular rear apron, two ends of which
were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered
the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front
depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut
into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated
with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron,
[834] not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly
the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women
sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated
[301 ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the
415] aprons, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing
powdered *buchu*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

[177] Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only
the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print dress.

[481] Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put
on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin
cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered,
[438] although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have
become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men
generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold
[177] weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned
inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

301 The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women
177 still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing
[415] the knife, pipe, tobacco, money, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,

and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But H 301 formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, 177 while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire H [439] bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no H means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung 515 ubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and 302 hen rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin uppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small H eceptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on [415] he person. The women especially would smear the whole body with t, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and vomen also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck nd the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept H n small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings [415 t the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with 321] nly one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would n festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; nd even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still H aint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the [386] owder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was o special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of e scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all orts of small trinkets.

BODILY MUTILATIONS

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. B 304 erhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, 856 s a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the outhern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men d women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

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[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . p de Bonne-Espérance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *ravels . . . in S. Africa*, i, 43.

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304 856 joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned [184] appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

304 [301] [136] Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

184 304 881 224 In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

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[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.

[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.

[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290

[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.

[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.

[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.

[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.

[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

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given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

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According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion.

Hottentots

H 304

Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never

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[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarized by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien ... der südafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.

[3] Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4.

304 [845] been reported of the Naman. The motive assigned by Kolb to the custom was the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. Most other writers state that its purpose was to increase the swiftness of the man in running !

Finger mutilation, already noticed in the Bushmen, was also common to all the Hottentots, especially among women.[1] It consisted of the removal of one or two joints of the little finger, and sometimes of the first joint of the next finger as well. The reason for this [765 custom is doubtful. It has variously been looked upon as a sign of 751] mourning, or, especially in the case of children, as designed to be magically protective. Kolb, Wikar, and other early writers state that [587] it was confined to those women who had married more than once, a fresh joint being cut off before every fresh marriage. There is [856] ample evidence, however, to show that it was also practised on children, even on small babies. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to determine the underlying motive with accuracy. The corresponding custom among the Bushmen, as we have seen, seems to be practised mainly as a protective rite on infants whose immediate predecessors have died, and this may also have been the meaning in some cases of the Hottentot custom, although it is probable that the motive differed in various tribes.

Scarification seems also to have been employed among the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, in connection with a large variety of ceremonies—boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, healing of disease, etc.[2] It consists in a number of small cuts made by the officiating person on the chest of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars. The different occasions on which it is practised will be discussed more fully below. The perforation of the nasal septum and of the lobe of the ear for the reception of ornaments is also found, the latter especially being very common.

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[1] The relevant literature is summarized by Walk, op. cit., 884 sq.

[2] Walk, op. cit., 884; cf. also Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 42–4; Wikar, op. cit., 93–4; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "The Conception of ǂnau among the Hottentots," 67–9 *et passim*.

1/A [i.e., excision of the left testicle.—Analyst]

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PART II

CULTURE OF THE BUSHMEN

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CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

TRIBE AND HUNTING BAND

ALL the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding
together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and
organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate
communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a
hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see
one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are
all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through
intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another.
On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead
directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic
of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the
people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

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[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop.*, *N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life. [114]

621 */gom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or
101 scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt
on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the
bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the
[114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they
inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by
which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes".
619 A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members
101 of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language.
Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central
linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively,
i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has
not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal
names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general
characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they
inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the
/tannekwe the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the
open country", and the */o /kü* the "forest people", while the */kũ*
(*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name
"Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the
[177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees;
while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of
themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the
Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social
[197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social
life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen,
nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are
binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever
taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely
a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common
language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among
the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life
independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the
[623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In
[622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

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[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently 621
exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from [622]
place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of 619
the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is 621
collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its 423
own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority 621
over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not [438]
trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border, mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of [619]
a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies, river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas [311]
of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected [361]
near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one [628]
of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

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[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den ‖Kau-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), Sitzber. (12).

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There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

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The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dornan states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

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[177]
In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

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[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 273; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 13.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 190.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. 168.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 104; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under 621 which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in 648 large groups.

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent 162 their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. 621 In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6]

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, [114] as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal.

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the 166 size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are 361 not always found living together in one encampment. Within the 621

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[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10. [2] *The Naron*, 4. [3] "Die Auin," 136.

[4] "Erkundungsreise in das Kaukauveld," 130. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.

[5] "Besiedlung der Omaheke," 303, 310.

[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okavango und Sambesi," 124.

[7] *Nama und Damara*, 236.

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166 361 621 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy [221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

361 619 621 On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were dying in great numbers in the Ghanaiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidonitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons [622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

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[1] *The Naron*, 4.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 41; Vedder, "Kalahari Masarwas," 30.

[3] Op. cit., 7, 8.

[4] Op. cit., 10.

obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, 361
there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only 619
temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. 621
They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal [622]
groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family 592
among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together [595]
with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance
in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band 114
is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular 601
the information available about the kinship organization of the 602
Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists 621
of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such
organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the 114
lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources 601
rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot there-
fore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw 114 602

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[1] Op. cit., 158, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimates), and cannot therefore be accepted without question. [114]

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57-70.

114 602 but little light on the social organization of the people, since the information given about the rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of people related either by consanguinity or through marriage is somewhat meagre. But they suggest at least that there is much in the social life of the Bushmen which could be revealed by a careful study of the usages connected with kinship.

621 There is some evidence, however, to show that among the Cape and Namib Bushmen, who as we have seen live in very small groups, the members of such a group are as a rule all related either by consanguinity or through marriage. Of the Cape Bushmen, for example, Miss Bleek says elsewhere: "They live in small family groups, and have no chiefs. . . . Three or four huts stand together. In one is the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts of connections were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, but this is an institution of later days . . . (at marriage) [591] sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's father, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family groups fairly even."[1] The accounts given by Trenk and especially [114] by Seydel of the social structure of the band among the Namib Bushmen are not nearly so definite, but on the whole seem to indicate a similar principle of grouping.[2]

This is also found among the IO Kung of Angola, where again the local groups are very small. The details given by Miss Bleek bring out very clearly the structure of these groups[3]: "The families living together are nearly always related; in two cases the men were brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with wife and children, and a grown-up daughter whose husband was temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a mother with married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the Mushumbo, consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in the male and female line, a son-in-law and nephews and great-nephews, mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the 'father' [888] of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the

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[1] *The Mantis and his Friends*, pp. viii, ix.

[2] Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," 168, 170; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 394.

[3] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same group is permitted or not. 582 Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the woman's."[3] [591]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. 621 Fourie says of the Heikum: 184 "Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. 582 There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated [591] [835] very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance, often even from other tribes.[5] [619] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

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[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.

[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168.

[4] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.

[5] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."

[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kū-Buschmannensprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, 1 (1910), 8.

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184 582 621 while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the band is not permitted.[1] A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too, the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.[2]

591 183 After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's people, although the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.[3] As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron, however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so."[4] Passarge 114 591 indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band[5]—a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen are a matrilineal people.[6] It is far more probable, however, that he was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal institutions.

621 In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that the families constituting the band may be related to one another in the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

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[1] Op. cit., 105

[2] Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," (14).

[3] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.

[4] *The Naron*, 34.

[5] Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."

[6] *Südafrika*, p. 252: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."

male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The 621
relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other [114]
North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and [591]
children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, [586]
and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into 114
many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies 614
sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, [177]
but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples.

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the 621
social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there 611
are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children

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[1] Op. cit., 86.

[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.

[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67.

[4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.

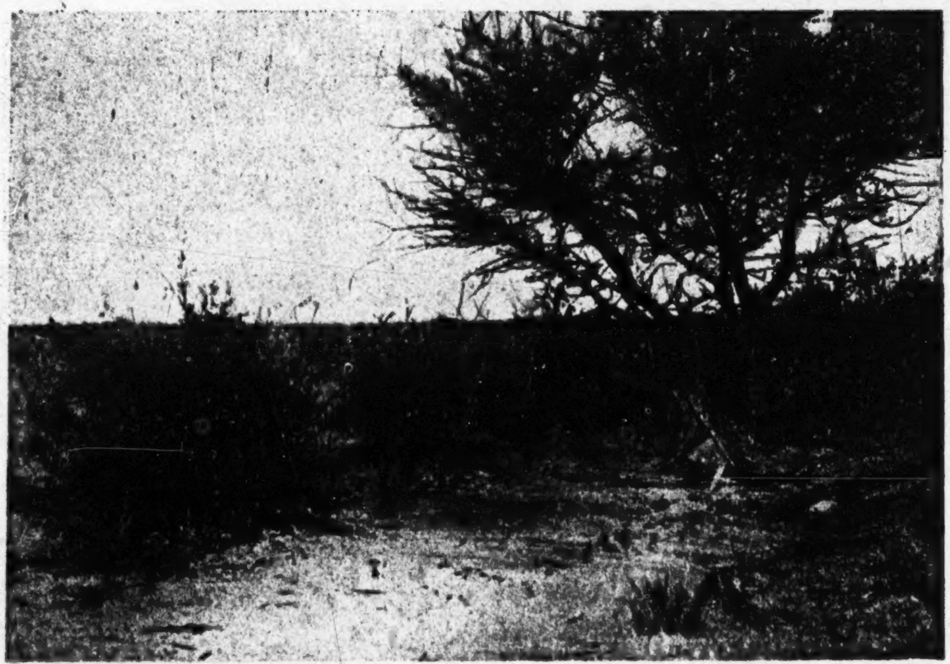
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.

[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 14) that a boy [114]
belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehören zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate.

PLATE VI

342

[facing p. 86]



L. Fourie

CRUDE BUSHMAN WINDSCREEN

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611 621 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already mentioned, these are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 221 [184] Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.[1]

361 342 Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary. The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

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[1] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296, 297.

mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, 342
however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are 361
denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, [462]
crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected
within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. [312]
The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away [224]
the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink.

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes 361
necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site 622
for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household 342
and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected.
After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light
a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft [372]
may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the 361
families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3]

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on
a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common [184]
encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp.
"This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [606]

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[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.

[2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

[3] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.

[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50-1; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

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[606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes."
Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent
[882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young
men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those
of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also
[589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of
married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

" The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved
361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women
562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered
underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely,
[622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for
kindling the principal fire (*!ou-|ais*) or for other menial purposes
when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief
nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under
[372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-|ais*) on the establishment of a new
[224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed
in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among
114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the
361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just
hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. " Where
several families live together," he says, " the huts are ranged in a
circle, the head of the group (" Dorfälteste ") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families
592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they
[595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children
sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by
themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share
[882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree,
and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation
build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents
also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with
[589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone,
are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting
342 as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

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[1] Fourie, " Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52.
[2] " Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] " Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, " Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, " Die Auin," 138.

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the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron 342 hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. [462] The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry [482] some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and [285] neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in [194] shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly [352] strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is [513] the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and 354 sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round [513]

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[1] Op. cit., 5.

[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.

[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.

[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

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CHAPTER V

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

DAILY LIFE AND FOOD

Daily and Seasonal Routine

THE life of the Bushmen is one long struggle for food. For their 221 subsistence they rely entirely on the natural products of their environment: their animal food is obtained mainly by hunting, and occasionally fishing, while their vegetable food consists of edible plants, roots, and fruits growing wild in the veld. Save where they [177] have been very considerably influenced by other peoples, they neither practise agriculture nor keep domestic animals which can supply them with food in the way of meat or milk.

The very mode of their subsistence makes them all wanderers. As soon as the edible plants in the vicinity of one waterhole grow scarce, the people move on to another, following the movements of the game and the growth of the plants. In this way a few months are spent at one waterhole, then some months at another, perhaps at even a third or fourth, and it is often a year or more before the first is revisited.

In particular their movements are regulated according to the season 221 and the distribution of the rainfall upon which they are mainly 312 dependent for their food supply. In the Namib Desert and in the 423 Central and Northern Kalahari each band has different dry and rainy season quarters, to which it resorts as the growth of veldkos or the movements of the game necessitate. The Namib Bushmen roam about the sand dunes of their region during the rainy season and well into the dry season, but as soon as the water and the indispensable *!naras* fruits found there are exhausted, they draw back into the mountains, where each band has its permanent waterholes.[1] Similarly the Bushmen in the Central Kalahari roam in the sandy plains during the rainy season, and still manage to live there for part of the dry season, even after standing water has disappeared, on succulent melons and roots; but when these also begin to fail the people are

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[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166, 168.

221 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy
312 season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt
423 in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping
to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently
also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region.
In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of
the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same
alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen,
among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among
the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season
[621] makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the
band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and
among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band
concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more
abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families
scatter and wander off in different directions.

From their huts the people go out every day in search of food.
462 The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the
512 morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the
previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting
or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing
skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in
search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One
may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction,
single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys
together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on."
When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually
back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may
not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their
way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and
proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young
girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.
[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the
evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without
delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,
512 [574] each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually

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[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

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exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to 572
another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors [574]
gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up [535]
till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of 262
animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former [825]
"on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses".

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus* [824]
edulis Dtr.), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the */naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to 252
prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking [592]

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[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional [462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped [439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a 415 [439] paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the [194] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes [323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates [264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another, 372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special 372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by 622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

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[1] Op. cit., 87,

use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in 372
the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief 622
is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune.
The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out."

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum 166
of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, 361
as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community 622
takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), [768]
sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up
suitable places for their huts in like manner. "The chief then pro- 372
ceeds to the large tree (*//heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire under- 622
neath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *ǂnorab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants
with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with [276]
it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*.
If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be [621]
home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled

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[1] Op. cit., 87-8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hai-//om Bushmen," 52-3.

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372 by him by means of the *kei-doros*. The new */ou-/ais* now serves to
622 supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that
all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in
221 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great
672 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people
622 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes
allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities
are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other
source, but the */ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

622 "Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or diffi-
372 culty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the
gei-khoib, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the */ou-/ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new */ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the *kei-doros* and applies */norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

114 "The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire,"
372 Fourie goes on to say, "is met with among all the organized primitive
622 groups" of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous
information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the "captain" of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no "sacred" fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. "When the camp is moved," he concludes, "the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire"[2]—presumably to use it for

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139: "Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründe, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 141: "Wie die Honigkaffern haben auch die !Kung das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Werftoberhaupt einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice 772
which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 622
There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar [114]
usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor [184]
is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes
mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a 171
very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero,
OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen 372
tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the
Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore
that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the [177]
Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much
fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely
asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously
play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular,
the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain ex- [622]
clusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance
in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed
merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other
peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing
the political institutions of the Bushmen.

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but 262
it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden 825
to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek
and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details
of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little
children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account
of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the
tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game [841]
killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to
eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was
forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing [821]
the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of
the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain
(unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small 262
portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating [114]

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[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[779] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
[825] promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Pauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only
by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
229 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a
wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed
and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[29] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is
then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

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[1] *The Naron*, 7.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.

[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100-3; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hai-//om Bushmen," 34-8.

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on the ground under the */hais* either on sticks which were used in 224
carrying it or on branches. The *gai-khoib* (chief) now comes forward 252
and if he finds that the */hai-/ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he 224
returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is 252
absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the 622
meat in the meantime being hung on the */hais* (tree in centre of camp).
After having kindled the fire the *gai-khoib* instructs one of the men— [372]
the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gai-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes' (*soo-soo*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers [264]
and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *ǂkoma*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *anna* [taboo] and may not be 224
partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gai-khoib*. The liver, how- 262
ever, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut [622]
up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *anna* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *anna*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *anna* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*/ae-si*). Her portion is known as the */nae-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The */nae-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the */khom-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The */nae-di*, however, may not [622]
be eaten until the *gai-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaus*. It is not brought under the */hais*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the [252]
fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The */khom-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the */nae-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an

224 262 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *aoaragu* (youths) is known as */om-||gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, 224 252 262 etc. It is prepared by the *aoaragu* themselves over their own fire at the *aoaragudi /gaus* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the */koms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* [574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the */noe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-||gani*, [264] under which is included the */koms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the */koms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by 224 262 622 the members of an outlying *||gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *||gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *||gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. [372] When he visits a *||gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

114 224 [622] Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief, this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

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[1] Passarge, *op. cit.*, 11; Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, 135–6; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 26.

that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of 114 the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist 224 in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not [262] permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga 276 (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although [249] a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their [177] Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the [439] Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of [324] serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin [237] bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most [177] prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near [321] the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

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[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 275 sqq.

[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148-9.

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276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes 836 before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

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[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 131; Werner, "Ueber die Haikum- und Kungbuschleute," 117; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 100-1.

[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.

[3] Op. cit., [illegible]. [4] Op. cit., 136. [5] Op. cit., (18).

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the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman 114
may not".[1] And again Dornan writes of the Hiechware: "Sexual 836
intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage.

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen
are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of [582]
them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does 848
actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that
physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that [842]
marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen,
and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion [847]
is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are
usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an [581]
essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family.

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or 595
more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand,
curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is [114]
no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy

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[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.

[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, in; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.

[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 91.

[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 303: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical [114] preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to [162] show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

582 The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 157. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Dornan, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

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the Heikum, there is also a definite tendency towards band exogamy.[1] 582 This means that in general courtship and marriage take place between persons belonging to different bands, and therefore to different localities.

As a rule boys and girls are not permitted to marry until they have reached the age of puberty, and have passed through the [881] puberty ceremonies.[2] Marriage generally takes place shortly afterwards. Among the Naron and the Auen, for example, most people are married by the time they are twenty, many of them, indeed, when they are several years younger, and so, too, among the Kung marriage takes place at quite an early age.[3]

Marriage Ceremonies

From the sketchy descriptions available about the marriage customs of the Bushmen, there does not appear to be any elaborate ceremonial 584 attaching to the process of courtship and marriage. The actual details recorded vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main [184] features there is a considerable degree of uniformity.[4] The initiative lies as a rule in the hands of the prospective bridegroom. When he has found a suitable girl, he either himself or through an intermediary such as his best friend has to win the consent of her parents, above all of her mother, to whom he brings gifts in the form of game and vegetable foods, blankets, skins, beadwork, and so on. This period of courtship may last for a considerable time, often over a year or so. If no objection is taken to him, and his gifts are accepted, he after a while simply takes the girl to his hut, and the marriage is regarded as 585 settled. As a rule, this step is accompanied by a feast, in which the families and friends of both bride and bridegroom participate. Among the Northern and Namib Bushmen, indeed, it is obligatory on the bridegroom that he should kill a head of big game and present it to either the bride or her mother for the marriage feast. After marriage he also has to present his wife with a full woman's kaross, as well as other articles of clothing and ornaments, while she brings with her all her own property, mainly in the form of domestic utensils.

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[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung: "Die Kinder der Vaterschwestern gelten als Vettern, unter ihnen ist die Ehe verboten. Dagegen sind die Kinder der Vaterbrüder Geschwister und man muss die Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese es verlangt" (op. cit., 14). This needs to be confirmed; it is at variance with the tendency to band exogamy noted among all the North-Western Bushmen, including the Kung.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 101; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157, 158; Fourie, op. cit., 89, 91.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33–4.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 504–5; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 258; Passarge, op. cit., 105; Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; Vedder, op. cit., 8; Dornan, op. cit., 124–8.

584 The account given by Fourie of the Heikum marriage ceremonies
[114] is fuller than most of the others, and may be quoted for the sake of the
details it contains.[1] " A young man eligible for marriage is known as a
!gari-khoib. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter
to his best friend (*/hosab*), who then approaches the parents of the
prospective bride. The latter will reply: ' We are poor, we cannot
afford to give our daughter away.' Thereupon the */hosab* returns
to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself.
The suitor then proceeds to the *//gaus* of the girl's mother, taking
his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some
distance away and says ' I want your daughter '. The mother replies,
' We are too poor to give our daughter away,' to which the suitor
responds, ' I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will
bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him,' thereby implying that
he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows
and sufferings. The mother then replies, ' You are right, you may
585 take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your
promises,' and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's
hut (*!gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without
speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter
knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to
the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still
shy and afraid of men, she may run away, but does not go to her
mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the
!gari-khois oms, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day.
If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his
//gaus and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister,
presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his
bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the
present (*//ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his
bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards
midnight the mother takes her daughter to the *!gari-khois oms*, and,
if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom
do not speak to each other, nor, under normal circumstances, are the
presents sent to her mother until they have slept together. After the
marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to
obtain an animal for the *!gu-/a-/nab*, or the dance after an animal was
killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young
591 couple continue to live in the *!gari-khois oms* for some months before

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[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 59–60; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93.

taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591 *//gaus* his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585 now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184] the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727] trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583 indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721] been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177] down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581] sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

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[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.

[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 454; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.

[3] *Naron*, 33.

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837 with the woman who becomes his wife; at the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with women, whether
684 married or unmarried, other than his wife or wives. Marital infidelity appears to be severely condemned by all the Bushmen. Among the Naron, for example, a man who catches his wife misconducting herself tries to kill her lover and beats her, but he generally does not drive her away if she has children.[1] Marital fidelity among the Auen is said to be fairly well maintained. When adultery does occur, the adulterer is, if possible, killed, while the wife is more or less severely beaten, according to the temper of the husband; she is apparently never killed. Kauffman adds that there nevertheless appears to
[548] exist a form of prostitution in which a married woman offers herself to different men for gifts, although if this comes to the notice of the husband he will drive her away. Our author finds it difficult to reconcile this with the blood vengeance exercised in case of adultery, but adds the explanation given him by the people, that "if a woman is intimate with many men, the husband can hardly wage 'war' with them all".[2] Of the Kung Lebzelter says merely that the adulterer is killed, and the guilty wife thrashed.[3] Among the Namib Bushmen, again, an adulterer can either be killed or forced to pay compensation. We are not told, however, the circumstances under which one alternative is exercised rather than the other, nor in what the compensation consists. The wife is sent away, and the adulterer, if unmarried, is then expected to marry her. If she is pregnant the child
[848] must be reared by him, and sent back when grown up to the original husband.[4]

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684 In all these cases, it will be noticed, we have to deal with generalized statements. In no instance is any concrete illustration given of what actually took place in such cases of adultery as may have come under the observation of our authorities. It is not possible, therefore, to decide how much truth really underlies the statements that the adulterer is generally killed. It is evident, however, that the sexual prerogatives conferred by marriage are jealously guarded. Unfortunately almost all the information bearing on this point refers

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[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 34; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 106.

[2] Op. cit., 156, 157.

[3] Op. cit., 14.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168. Seydel (op. cit., 505) states that while formerly blood vengeance was invariably exercised in case of adultery, nowadays the reaction has been toned down, and the guilty party ("der schuldige Teil") is merely thrashed very severely ("halbtot") with a stick!

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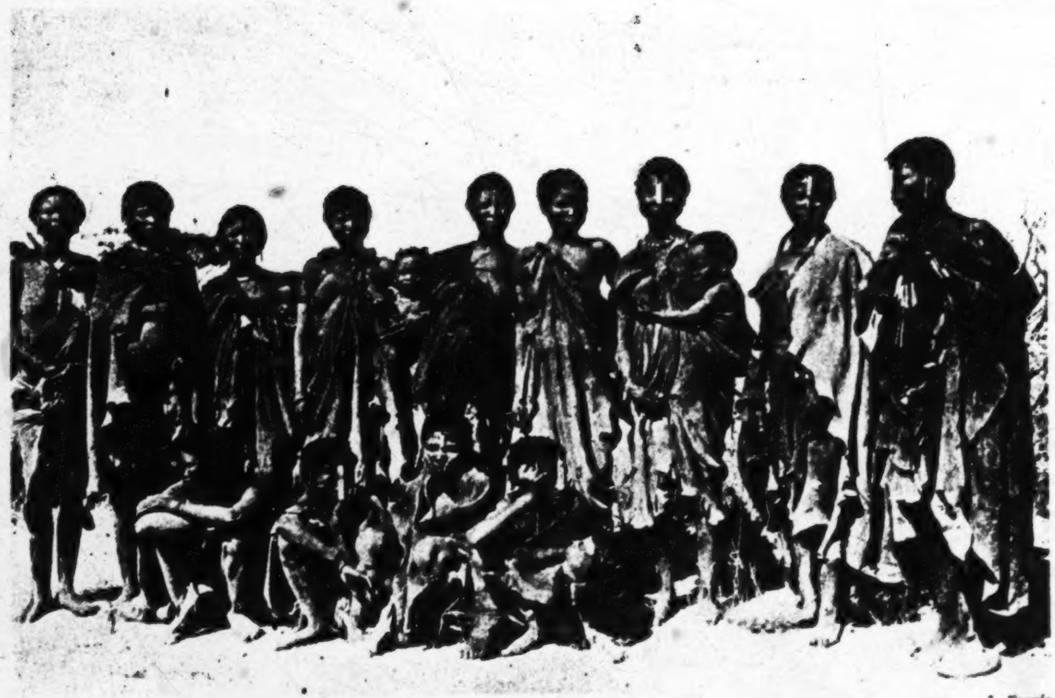
PLATE VII

[facing p. 118]



L. Fourie

GROUP OF AUEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
Notice the clothing and ornaments, and the mode of carrying the babies

[*face p.* 118

only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is 114 684
said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful.

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is 581
also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their [264]
meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide [462]
the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals;
while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and
his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic 562
burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status,
but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions 593
of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way,
in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said,
is often enough henpecked by her![1]

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband 591
and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special 606
relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as
we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the
wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's
group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the [583]
husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to
hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection.

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further 606
creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.

[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

606 supposed to speak to his wife's mother, nor a woman to her husband's father. Of the former Miss Bleek had personal evidence, since her [114] Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. Actually it seems that sitting near or consorting together is avoided, rather than the actual addressing of the person concerned.[1] So, too, among the Auen a man avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit together with her. If he approaches a fire in order to sit there, she gets up and goes away; if he wants to speak to her, he must do so from a distance.[2] Among the Heikum, again, as we have seen, a young couple who are visiting the wife's parents will erect their hut on the opposite side of the camp, so that the husband may not be too near his parents-in-law. He neither looks at nor speaks to his wife's mother, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When she is away and he wishes to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never [60] refer to each other by name, but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law". The son-in-law also does not associate with his father-in-law, but avoids him in the same way. Should they meet accidentally, they may exchange greetings, but no general conversation will take place, nor will they look each other in the face.[3] A similar avoidance of the parents-in-law among the Cape Bushmen is indicated in one of the texts obtained by Bleek and Lloyd, but no details are given.[4]

Dissolution of Marriage

586 The duration of married life varies. Among the Naron, says Miss Bleek, "One sees couples who have grown old together, on the other hand one hears of cases of desertion on either side. If there are no children, no one worries about it. If there are youngsters, the relations try to bring the parents to reason." Where separation does take place, the children belong to the father; an unweaned child must go with the mother, but the father can claim it later if he likes. [587] People who have separated are not ostracized, but both parties generally marry again.[5] No indication is given of the grounds for separation. Among the Auen divorce is rare, and only takes place

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[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 64; *idem*, *Naron*, 32.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156.
[3] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93–4.
[4] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 58.
[5] *Naron*, 34.

when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586
people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then [595]
takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a
divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by
his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife
may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is
childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment
between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group;
the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the
husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father,
but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie,
are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement [114]
runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other
North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost
certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587
or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen
of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [589]
to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [754]
popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to [761]
witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention
was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten
without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. [184]
Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's
brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to
marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most
widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried
widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own
group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.

[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.

[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505.

[4] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.

[5] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.

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587 "after a certain length of time", and, as among the Naron, there is no levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of [736] a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not [768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries [761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

BIRTH AND INFANCY

587 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth 586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary 844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her 591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuŋ-Buschleuten," 14.

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is no information about special pregnancy observances in any of the other tribes. 843

Among the North-Western tribes, the only ones of whom we have adequate information on this point, the labour is sometimes conducted in the camp, but generally, as soon as the first symptoms appear, the woman leaves the huts, and the birth takes place in the open, some distance away.[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung that only women giving birth for the first time are confined in the camp; the others go out into the open veld. Whether this also applies to the other tribes is not clearly indicated. Wherever delivery may take place, a little soft grass is collected, on which the woman rests. Assistance is given by her mother and some other old women. There do not appear to be any special midwives. Men may not be present at delivery. Among the Heikum tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on a tree as a warning to them that labour is in progress. Among the Auen the husband of the woman fastens his bowstring round her body; then he goes away and remains in his hut until the birth has taken place. There does not seem to be any determinate symbolic meaning attaching to this act; the explanation given to Kaufmann was that it facilitated the birth. There is no record from any of the other tribes of a similar act in which the husband is ritually linked up with the birth, except among the Kung, where, according to Lebzelter, the woman as soon as delivery is imminent must step over the legs of her husband, who has previously rubbed "medicine" into cuts made in his calves. 844

A different usage is mentioned incidentally by Seydel in connection with birth-giving among the Namib Bushmen.[2] When labour is far advanced the woman's husband makes a small fire outside the hut in which she is confined, and carefully keeps it going. No pot may be placed on this fire, nor may anything be cooked or roasted over it. It is believed that if this custom is neglected both mother and new-born child will go blind. After the birth another larger fire is kindled alongside the previous one as a sign of rejoicing, irrespective of the sex of the child. [753]. [846

During labour the woman sits on the ground with knees upraised and her back supported, and is roughly massaged by the attendant women. For the act of birth itself, which generally is not prolonged,

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[1] The principal descriptions of birth customs are given by Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 98–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 292; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94; Lebzelter, loc. cit.

[2] Seydel, op. cit., 324.

844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in [755] to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally [845] harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but [847] more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 847 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

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believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is 845
adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron 847
it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur in any of the tribes. 847 Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection 852 with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is 553 usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name [578] between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the 171 Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. 553 "Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas* 171 *Gamanis |Garus* and begot two sons, namely *//Otoab |Gonab |Garub* 551 and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *//Otoab* become *//Otoab |Gonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

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[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.

[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.

[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

171 551 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Elkerab*, the lad with the long face, and *Angaseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable [862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save [163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the [844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among [184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality [165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore 162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

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[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 90.

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middle-aged women who counted up to five children they had 162
reared—the others were never mentioned. The eldest children were already married, the others quite small.

Childhood and Family Life

All Bushmen are very fond of their children, who receive love and 855
care without stint.[1] Babies and young children are spoiled, and rarely corrected. The children begin to walk early, but long after a child can toddle it must still ride in its mother's kaross on food-gathering expeditions, giving her an additional burden to carry wherever she goes. When finally old enough to look after them- 857
selves, the youngsters go out with other children, trailing after the women or bigger girls. They have no special playthings; infants [524]
amuse themselves with sticks and stones and grasshoppers, playing about in the sand, while the young boys soon make themselves or are given little bows and wooden arrows, with which they shoot small birds and reptiles.

Both boys and girls go out with their elders on the daily excursions 868
in search of food, even the babies go, riding in their mothers' karosses. The day is spent out in the open veld, and here the children receive most of their education. The girls accompany their mothers, from whom they learn to know the plants and animals, and their value as food, how to collect veldkos, and how to use the different implements and utensils. The bigger boys follow the men out hunting. Towards his eighth or ninth year each boy is provided by his father with a proper bow and arrows, which are, however, not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbok or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows, and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veldcraft.

In this way the children grow up in intimate contact with Nature, and acquire all the knowledge necessary for hunting and collecting. In the evening they run about near the huts, play various games, 857
mostly denoting scenes of animal life, take part in the dances, or sit by the fire, listening to the talk of their elders, until they feel

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 18 seq., 20-1; Passarge, op. cit., 100; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 139-1; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89-90.

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857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends
them to bed.

So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the
595 tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up,
no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature
children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of
family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives
603 are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among
the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a
great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has
[597] been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally
adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often
[869] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there
593 is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions,
and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman
tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper
and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up
brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the
case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears
to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult
brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.[1]

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONIES

881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by
the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young
people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the
group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the
[184] Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to
be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat
from tribe to tribe.

Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

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[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," pp. 66-7; cf. *idem*, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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again; being, on the first occasion, allowed to look afar over her mother's hand. She leaves the small hut, when allowed to look about and around again; and she then walks about like the other women. During the time she is in retreat, she must not look at the springbok, lest they become wild."[1] She was not allowed to eat game killed by the young men, but only that which her father had shot; and, above all, she was not to look upon or be approached by men lest harm come to both them and herself. There are several legends describing how men who were looked upon by a girl at this time became fixed in whatever position they then occupied, or even became transformed into stones, or stars in the sky, or trees which talked; while girls who were disobedient became converted into frogs or were carried off to death by the rain.[2] 881 [825] [773]

Further north, in some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung), the central feature of the girls' puberty ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is held in the girl's honour.[3] As soon as she has her first period, neighbours and friends assemble to a big feast given by her parents. By day she is kept in a special hut, tended by women only, and no man may come near her; while every night until her period has passed the eland bull dance is performed. All the men and boys leave the camp, save two old men, who tie elands' horns or wooden imitations thereof to their heads, and wait in the bushes. The older women stand in a line, singing and clapping their hands. The girl is brought from her hut, and sits or lies on the ground by them. The younger women then circle round before them, or make a figure of eight. They dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow, swaying step. As they dance they lift their karosses and aprons to one side, and expose their buttocks, which they waggle from side to side. Then the two "bulls" stamp up, holding their karosses pulled well down over their shoulders, and presenting a hunched-up appearance. They join the line of dancers, sometimes leading it, sometimes in the middle of it, and dance with a slow, jogging step. The song accompanying their movements is full and low in tune, but without words. The motif of this dance clearly is the courtship of the eland bull, and although as seen by Passarge and Miss Bleek it was kept within bounds, they say that it can easily become indecent. 535 881 [831]

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[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 76-7.

[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10, 14, 18; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 10.

[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 100-3; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157-8; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23.

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881 The *≠au //en* hold a similar dance on this occasion, a man with a [535] bird's beak on his head taking the place of the "eland bull".[1]

The corresponding ceremony among the Heikum is a much more elaborate affair.[2] As young girls (*//khom-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty, they are placed in a special hut (*//khom-khoidi oms*), in which they sleep at night. During the day time they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women, who also visit the hut and instruct them in the various matters pertaining to domestic life, teach them how to prepare the food, to gather wood, to make the fire, and so on. Men may not enter the hut, nor may the girls speak to or be addressed by any man, whether married or single.

At the onset of her first menstruation, a girl is isolated in a small round hut (*//hewe oms*, hut for waiting), which is completely closed in except for a small entrance, and is situated close to the *//khom-khoidi oms*. In this hut she remains as long as the flow lasts; she may not show herself outside, and above all no man may pass close to the hut or attempt to address her. She is fed by her mother, or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman, and is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. She may be given veldkos, but is not allowed to partake of meat. Every day, too, her hair is smeared by the attendant woman with a mixture of red bark powder and powdered seed.

When the flow has ceased the girl informs her mother or attendant. 535 881 The latter tells the other married women, and they all prepare for the *//hewe-//nab* (menstruation dance). This takes place during the day on the central space of the camp. Men may not take part in it, nor even watch it. The girl is led out of her hut by two of the women, who cover her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross, leaving only the eyes visible. Each of the women takes her by the arm, and they join the line of dancers. The women dance abreast of each other, the feet thrown out sideways, with an old woman leading. What their movements are intended to represent we are not told. When the dance is about to end, the girl is taken back to her hut by the two women who had led her out.

The same performance is repeated for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, the girl is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in 881 the ceremony. Then, after she has been returned to her hut, the

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[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.
[2] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 17-9; idem, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89-91.

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adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolises the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 882
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first night; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

PLATE VIII

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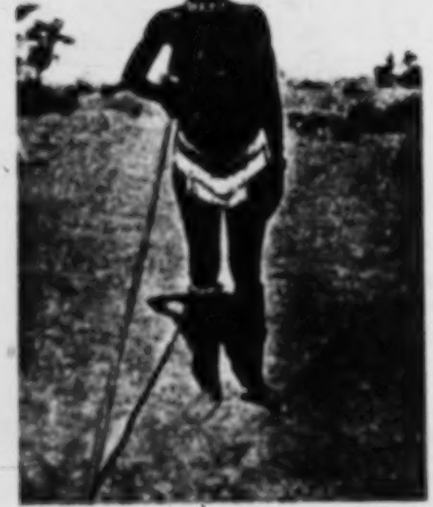
516

[facing p. 122]

L. Fourie

AUEN GIRL



L. Fourie

NARON WOMAN IN CEREMONIAL DRESS OF BEADWORK

[face p. 122

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184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gāūa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

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[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 31; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.

[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.

[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, [114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 132; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 11; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

they may have no fire, and eat no meat, but live only on a little water 881 and on raw roots and berries, which are sprinkled by the magicians with powdered bark "medicine". The greater part of this early 535 period is spent in the performance of sacred dances (*/gi*, men's dance), 881 which are held all through the day and often continued at night.

These dances among the Naron and Auen are described as follows by Miss Bleek: "All gather in a circle, clap their hands, and sing a weird, solemn tune with the refrain 'honk a honk'. Then they stamp round in a circle waving their arms to another phase of the melody (no words are used); then they stand still and sing the first part again and so on." At this dance the boys often wear ostrich feathers, or the head and beak of the white stork, as head ornaments; otherwise there is no special costume. Anyone owning dancing rattles also wears them, as at the ordinary dances.

On one of the nights of this dance, "a supernatural being called 535 Hishe approaches the dancers, circles round them, and is driven away 776 by the medicine men. The older men had seen this being. One said 881 that it was like a woman in appearance, another that it was not a person at all, but a creature about three feet high with a flat head, red eyes underneath the head, a black body, wings, and claws. Some old Auen said two beings came, male and female, looking like lions, but walking upright. They were followed by children like baboons. The male came first and called the others, they danced round and vanished to the east. Apparently medicine men of different times and places got up different bogies. Latterly their invention seems to have failed, for the middle-aged men told me Hishe came to the dance, but only the medicine men saw her and drove her away." Similarly, among the !O Kung of Angola, "the spirit Huwe occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. Huwe then retires without any particular demonstration."

As will be shown subsequently, Hishe and Huwe are beings who 776 figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naron and Kung 881 respectively. There can be little doubt, therefore, inadequate though our information is on this point, that these ceremonies serve in some [869] way to introduce the initiates to the mysteries of tribal religion.

More light is thrown on the routine of these ceremonies by Fourie's 881 description of them as practised among the Auen.[1] "On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the

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[1] Loc. cit.

881 smoke of the 'devil's' fire (*//gäüa-da*) and are required to partake of the 'devil's' urine (*//gäüa-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nõun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nõun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise, their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//noun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the 'Devil' and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nõun*, and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards, each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. Each one who [304] passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft."

The introduction to the "Devil" mentioned in this account [535] obviously refers to the dance in which Hishe or Huwe, as the case may be, appears before the boys. The hunting test almost certainly forms an essential part of the ceremony in the other tribes as well, *judging from a curt remark by Miss Bleek in another context that the* boys' initiation rites "certainly have much to do with hunting",[1] but there is no concrete information on this point. The "tattooing", 881 304 or rather cicatrization, referred to by Fourie is confirmed by all the other writers on the puberty ceremonies of the North-Western Bushmen. Among the Kung the boys receive these cuts (*/gi* cuts) between the eyebrows, and, among the Naron and Auen, also on the back between the shoulder blades. They consist of from one to three vertical incisions, about half an inch to an inch long, and are made by the magicians in charge of the ceremonies. Among the Naron

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[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.

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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to 304
keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is 881
applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is [184]
rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western
tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make [224]
them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After
this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They 882
are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the
councils of the men and associate with them.

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western 84
tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for 881
boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek
the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied
that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their
existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2]

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information 794
obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto- 535
land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with 776
religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men
initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen
as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance,
Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be
procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may
only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure,
and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire
for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot
feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which
seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him
shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances
a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her
nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description [881]
of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys
among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also
comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that
the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is
nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate
that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with
puberty ceremonies for boys.

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[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.

[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.

[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–4.

The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of
304 initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of
881 the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Doman,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They
881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of
[834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

Although, as already mentioned, Doman regards circumcision
114 as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the
304 Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they
177 live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is
184 asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Doman must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

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[1] Op. cit., 158-60.

Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, 423
claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and 621
vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands.
Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory
belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have
an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the
water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so
that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several
different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not [361]
made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal
in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their [221]
inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is
always the members of the same band who establish these different
encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there 423
is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however,
to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the [222]
sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the
growth of veldkos on it, he alone has a claim to its products. Others,
even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos
on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this 222
are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found 422
in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs,
for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership,
and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them
off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows
the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are [685]
restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches [626]
for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while
in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 133.

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222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only
[423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

HUNTING

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood
[824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The
[283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some-
[237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a
[284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

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[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hennemann," 94–6, 99–100.

detail. The simplest type has an unfeathered main shaft of hollow 411
reed about fifteen inches long, notched at one end to receive the 237
bowstring, and a head about six inches long (Plate IXf). The latter is made of either wood or a fragment of bone split off from the tibia of an ostrich, and is inserted into the hollow of the shaft. At the connection there is a binding of sinew round the end of the shaft, which prevents it from splitting and also keeps the head in place. The projecting end of the head is pared down to serve as a point. In many arrows of this type is found a small piece of quill neatly fastened in place with a binding of sinew about an inch and a half from the point so as to act as a barb. All this portion of the head is carefully smeared over with poison.

A modification of this type resulting in a foreshaft is often seen. 411
The head is not pointed, but is cut off square and notched about three
inches from its junction with the main shaft. Into the notch is inserted [324]
and gummed down a small triangular point of flaked stone such as
agate or chalcedony; in more recent times, since iron and then glass [177]
have become available, these are generally found used instead
(Plate IXa, e).

Still a further modification is seen in the remarkably ingenious type of arrow which, with a few minor variations in detail, is found widespread among almost all the Bushman tribes (Plate IXc, g.). Its main shaft is also of reed, with a simple notch at one end to receive the bowstring. Into the hollow of the other end is inserted a foreshaft of bone or quill, occasionally of wood, varying in length from two to six inches, and kept in place by a tight binding of sinew round the end of the main shaft into which it fits. Its projecting end fits into what may be called a link shaft, also of reed, about an inch long. Finally into the other end of the link shaft is fitted the point of the arrow, about four inches long and generally barbed. The whole link shaft is completely bound over with sinew. The point is made either of bone or of iron; bone is found mainly in the southern arrows, but is not restricted to them, while iron is a later introduction now used by all the Bushmen wherever obtainable. The whole point, together with the sinew binding on the link shaft keeping it in place, is coated over with poison.

Some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung) also have another type of arrow, with a reversible head of bone (Plate IXb, d). This is pared to a sharp point at one end, and rounded off at the other. For safety in carrying, the pointed end, which is the only one poisoned,

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411 is turned into the shaft; for shooting, the head is reversed, so that the rounded end is turned in and the poisoned end projects. In a more complex form based on the same principle, the head consists of two separate pieces of bone connected by a small link shaft or section of reed; the one piece is blunted at the tip, the other pointed and poisoned. Both pieces fit into the hollow of the main shaft of reed, and when the arrow is not required for use the blunted piece forms the projecting end of the head while the poisoned piece is in the shaft, but for shooting the head is reversed. This extremely interesting type [184] seems to be restricted in occurrence to these Bushman tribes, and is obviously directly correlated with the employment of poison as the effective agent of the arrow.

411 171 The tribes further north, such as the Northern Kung, the Heikum and the IO Kung of Angola, nowadays generally use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron points only. These resemble in type the arrows of the neighbouring Bantu peoples, and may have been imitated from them.

All these arrows are rather fragile, and can never seriously wound any animal which they strike. For their effect reliance is placed upon the poisonous mixtures dotted or smeared over their points.[1] Many 278 ingredients of different kinds are used in these mixtures, the more common being the vegetable juices of *Acokanthera venenata*, *Haemanthus toxicarius* (*Amaryllis disticha*), and various species of *Euphorbia*; the venom of the larger poisonous snakes, such as the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*) and the cobra (*Naia haje*); the beetle *Cladocera nigro-ornata*; the "baviaan spinnekop" or trapdoor spider; and the "klip-gift" or "rock poison" (probably a form of 184 arsenic). Not all of these are in use among the Bushmen as a whole. 278 There appears rather to be a fairly definite distribution of the various mixtures, dependent upon the substances available in the different localities; and probably each tribe of Bushmen has its own particular formula, although this cannot be asserted definitely. For general purposes we may distinguish three main types of arrow poison: the Namib Bushmen and those of the north-west districts of the Cape use a purely vegetable poison; the Southern Bushmen generally and some other tribes, such as the Hiechware and the Kung, use a

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[1] A comprehensive survey of the earlier literature on the subject is given by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 199-214. Two more recent papers of importance are: Hall and Whitehead, "A Pharmaco-Bacteriologic Study of African Poisoned Arrows," *J. Infectious Diseases*, xli (1927), 51-69; and [illegible], "The Bushman's Arrow-Poison Beetle," *Natural History Magazine*, ii (1929), 74-89.

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PLATE IX

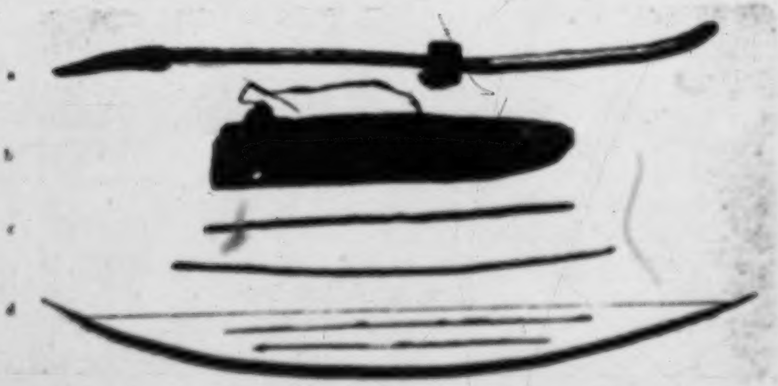
411

BUSHMAN ARROW-HEADS

British Museum

f Simplest type: main shaft of reed, bone point coated with poison
a, e Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, barb and iron point coated with poison
c, g Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, reed collar or link shaft, and barbed iron head
b, d Reversible head; in b the poisoned end protrudes, in d the head is reversed

[412]



BUSHMAN WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS

British Museum

a Digging-stick passed through perforated stone ball and tipped with horn
b Leather quiver for arrows
c Fire-sticks
d Bow and Arrows

[See p. 19]

mixture of animal and vegetable poisons, the ingredients most 278 frequently employed being snake poison and amaryllis juice [184] (*Haemanthus toxicarius*); while most of the Kalahari tribes derive their arrow poison from the grub or chrysalis of the *Cladocera* beetle.

The method of preparing the second type of poison is to cut off the head of the snake, extract the poison sacs, dry them and pound them into a dust. This is then placed in a piece of ostrich egg-shell or the breastbone of an ostrich, and the vegetable juice being poured in the mixture is stirred with a piece of bone or stick. It is then boiled until it acquires the requisite degree of consistency, usually that of a thick jelly, brownish-red in colour. Where a purely vegetable substance is used, as in the case of the *Acokanthera* shrub, the method of preparation differs but slightly. The wood of the shrub is pounded into rough powder, which is put into a clay pot and boiled for some time. A lid is kept on, as the fumes are noxious, but the liquid is stirred occasionally. After a while the wood is taken out and the remainder allowed to simmer until it is reduced to a cupful of glutinous liquid. This is then taken to a *Euphorbia* tree, and mixed with the fresh milky sap drawn from its stem. The poison, a brownish substance similar in appearance to beeswax, is now ready for use. It is generally worked up into a lump, which when not wanted immediately is carried about, wrapped up in a bit of skin, in the long bag which every Bushman has. When the poison is required, the lump is heated in a bit of tortoise-shell, and the melted portion either smeared on the arrow-head with a brush of wood or bone, or else, as was the custom with the Cape Bushmen, placed in a "poison stone", a smooth flat pebble with a deep groove down the middle. The part of the arrow to be anointed is pressed down upon this and worked round and round until the poison coating has acquired the proper shape. If possible the poison is never touched with the fingers, and great care is taken that none adheres to the hands or nails during the process.

The insect *Cladocera nigro-ornata* which forms the main ingredient [136] in the arrow poison of the Kalahari Bushmen is a small reddish-brown beetle which in early spring frequents certain bushes (*Commiphora dinteri Engl.*), and hatches its eggs on the branches. The grubs come out in summer, eat the leaves of the bushes and crawl into the sand beneath them, where they form cocoons. "In both these stages they are used as poison, but the cocoon is preferred. It is dried in the sun and can then be kept for some time and is easily

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and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The 411 spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, [439] but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been [177] used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for 224 catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

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[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4, 152; [illegible], op. cit., 102–3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by Stow, op. cit., 80–94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667–8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144–7; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 13–16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq. [114]

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278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Zizyphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to
114 the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the
278 function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although
224 as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally
278 the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make
411 use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about
[412] two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 14.
[2] These statements are summarized by Schapera, op. cit., [illegible].
[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 16.

224 where bush is scarce, frequently seek shelter during the day in the numerous anteater holes. Finding a morning spoor leading to one of these holes, the hunter, silently as a cat, creeps up to the hole and plants himself before it, leaving a small open space under the left arm, for which the buck charges, when it is pinned and dealt a stunning blow over the head with the kirri held in the right hand. In this way numbers of these animals are killed. The kirri is also used for knocking down hares and game birds; it is thrown from a distance of twenty-five to thirty feet, and generally stuns the game so that it is easily [223] secured. Birds are preferably aimed at just when they are rising from the ground, as the slightest blow will then upset their balance and bring them down before they have time to escape.

Bigger game, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and springbok are generally hunted with the bow and arrow, which are used all the year round. As a rule the men hunt alone, or a man and boy together. They find the spoor of an animal and follow it, finally creeping up to the leeward side on hands and knees, using all possible cover, and then raise themselves gently to shoot. Or else they lie in wait for the game on its way to the water, or in the vicinity of a place where it comes to lick salt. The men hide themselves between stones, or dig a hole in the ground, piling up the earth in front and sticking green branches on top to deceive the game. Occasionally, again, several men surround game in a pan, some standing to leeward ready to shoot, while the others drive from windward, approaching from different quarters.

Once he has wounded an animal, the hunter takes up its trail and follows it leisurely, knowing that he will ultimately reach the corpse, if the poison on the arrow has been at all effective. There is always the great danger, however, that if the buck has run too far, and he takes too long to reach it, hyenas or the vultures may have got there first. Also care must be taken that the animal does not run out of [423] [621] the hunting territory, as it is then as good as lost, or, where the neighbouring band is friendly enough to permit of its being followed over the border, the meat must be shared with the members of that band. When at last he comes up with the buck the hunter, if it is not already dead, dispatches it with the spear or kirri. He then cuts [262] it up, roasts and eats some of the meat, and carries the rest home; or, if near the huts, he may carry the whole buck home. If it is too big to manage, he will light a fire to summon the other members of the band to the spot. Everybody shares in the meat, which is doled

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out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for 224 himself.

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the 223 skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach 825 the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were [292] stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head carved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] [582] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be [184] generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow 224 their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. 825 The Bushman having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2]

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs 224 which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only [221] domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind to

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[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. [illegible], facing p. [illegible].

[2] Dornan, op. cit., [illegible]; cf. [illegible], op. cit., [illegible].

[3] [illegible], *Travels in S. Africa*, [illegible]; [illegible], *Travels in S. Africa*, [illegible]; [illegible], *Report on Bushmen* [illegible]; [illegible], *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des* [illegible]; [illegible], op. cit., [illegible]; Dornan, op. cit., [illegible]; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., [illegible].

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224 soon as the dog has gripped his prey." Among the Naron these dogs are procured from BeChwana, Bergdama or white men in order [123] to hunt jackals, leopards, lynxes and other animals whose skins are [439] valued for making karosses. The skins so obtained are brought to the giver of the dog and bought by him at his own price for tobacco or trade goods, chiefly the former. The dogs are sometimes used by the people to catch hares and small buck for their larder, but are never taken out to hunt larger game.

In addition to these different methods of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons, the Bushmen employ various methods of trapping. Pitfalls are often made during the dry season in the path to a waterhole or along river banks, and covered with bushes. In the Central and Northern Kalahari these pits are about four yards long and deep, and not quite a yard wide. They are dug with the ordinary digging-stick in such a way that a small wall of earth is left standing in the middle, but not reaching to the surface. Large animals in attempting to escape out of the pit jump on to this partition wall, where they remain hopelessly suspended on their belly. Other pits of the same nature, especially among the Southern Bushmen, often have pointed stakes placed in the middle. They serve to catch big game animals, such as rhinoceros, which are then killed with the spear, and in particular those, like zebras and antelopes, which come down in herds to drink at the water. In former times, when there was a far greater abundance [136] of game, whole valleys were sometimes enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game down from the heights into the trap in the valley. Galton describes one of the most remarkable works of this kind. "We passed a magnificent set of pitfalls which the Bushmen who live about these hills had made. The whole breadth of the valley was staked and bushed across. At intervals the fence was broken, and there broken deep pitfalls were made. [313] The strength and size of timber that was used gave me a great idea of Bushman industry, for every tree had to be burned down and carried away from the hills, and yet the scale of the undertaking would have excited astonishment in far more civilised nations. When a herd of animals was seen among the hills, the Bushmen drove them through this valley up to the fence; this was too high for them to jump, so that they were obliged to make for the gaps, and there they tumbled into the pitfalls."[1]

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[1] *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 108; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan den . . . Heer van Plettenberg," 88-9; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386-7; Chapman, op. cit., ii, 80-1; Passarge, "Die Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," 691; idem, *Die Buschmänner*, 78-9.

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Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Kejas in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.[1] 224 [278]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria zeylanica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.[2] [184] [221] [283]

Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; 226
indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even

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[1] Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 233; Paterson, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots*, 169; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167. Moffat describes how on one occasion he nearly died as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 131–4).

[2] Schinz, op. cit., 387; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 130 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 13.

226 more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also
[462] the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method
[227] employed by is the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds, about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared
[177] from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu
[501] and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap. The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current, or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is
224 surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and
304 beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully. The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks, occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat
[325] is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

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[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, [illegible]; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, [illegible]; Alexander, op. cit., i, [illegible]; Passarge, "Okawangosumpfland," [illegible]; Seiner, "[illegible]," [illegible]; Dornan, op. cit., [illegible].

2[i.e., Fishing – Analyst]

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of boys at the puberty ceremonies are also said to have the function 224 of making them "see better" in hunting.[1] Seydel briefly mentions 304 the existence of similar practices among the Namib Bushmen. Cuts are made on the forehead or upper arm of a man in order that he may have better fortune in hunting. These cuts are made by a near relative of his, such as father, brother, or wife, and are given only to adults.[2]

There is no record of such scarifications among the Cape Bushmen, [194] although here also a well-developed ritual existed in connection with hunting life. Unfortunately, only fragments of this have been 224 recorded. They show that there were certain special precautions [114] to be observed before going out on the hunt, and especially during that critical period when the game has been wounded but not yet taken. Thus, when an animal has been wounded, the flesh of the swift springbok may not be eaten by the hunter, as this would give strength to the movements of the wounded buck; he should rather eat the flesh of a slow-moving animal, especially of such as would strengthen the action of the poison. The moon must not be looked upon when following the spoor, lest the animal run too far—a belief also held by the Naron. The hunter's shadow, again, must not be allowed to fall upon game which lies dying; certain (unspecified) rules have to be observed when an eland has been shot; the bones of the dead animal must be treated in a certain way; Bushman girls perform special ceremonies, in order that their father's dogs may hunt well, while certain cuts must be made upon the bow when a baboon or hyena has been killed. Unfortunate shots are believed to be due to such causes as the children at home playing on a man's bed, and are also ascribed to the carelessness of wives, while there even appears to be a belief that unsuccessful hunting may forebode evil to the hunter. Also it is held that after the death of a companion the hunters will be unlucky in springbok hunting, and certain (unspecified) remedial measures are resorted to.[3]

Beliefs of a somewhat similar nature are found among the Heikum. As we have already seen, the meat of an animal killed with the bow and arrow is subject to minutely-prescribed rules of division and preparation. Moreover, a man who shoots an eland or giraffe must, on

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[1] Chapman, op. cit., i, [illegible]; Wuras, "Ueber die Hottentotten und [illegible]," [illegible]; Passarge, op. cit., [illegible]; Vedder, op. cit., [illegible]; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," [illegible]; idem, "Bushmen of Central Angola," [illegible]; idem, Naron, [illegible].

[2] "Aus der Namib," [illegible].

[3] Bleek, *Bushman Tales*, [illegible]; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, [illegible]; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, [illegible].

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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual
intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the
animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be
[841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating;
this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game.
Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident;
for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife
was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition,
nor will she eat any of the *[illegible]* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

COLLECTING

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at
the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of
existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
222 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
224 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily
311 in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during
the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of
hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all
the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some
hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon
after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus
makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to
kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only
[723] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather
wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times,
[622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

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[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]; Kaufmann, "Die [illegible]," [illegible]; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, [illegible].

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222 [324] [3..]

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. [462] The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. [412] In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. [184] The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire.

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. 222 622 "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */hain* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-ǂkhaib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-ǂkhais*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */hain*, the men in the meantime remaining in the ǁ*gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-ǂkhais*. On the return of the women to the ǁ*gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-ǂkhaib*. The *gei-ǂkhais* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */hain*. Her husband now kindles the */hai-/ais*, and, after having applied *burud* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gau-ai-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, [184] but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. [171] The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply.

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[1] "Customs of the Hei-ǁom," 96-7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 96-7.

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PLATE [illegible]

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411
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I. Schapera

"MOSARWA," S. KALAHARI.
Carrying Bow and Quiver

[illegible]

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A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection
222 622 of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs
[184] of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season,
the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the
inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots
mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around
him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which
is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild
fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both
hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its
burning contents falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into
flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to
[792] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you,
[539] please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire
has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs,
which up till now they might not touch.

These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the
222 presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the
184 gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman
tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which
may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although
they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This
[462] is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the
[857] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in
[415] ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be
[337] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre
or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a
water-bottle.

The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the
312 Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of
182 life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the
[22] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have
[621] seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live
together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry
season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the
growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game
lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound
[823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

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[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kũ-Buschmannsprache," p. 9.

finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed 182
in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, 312
however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this 823
ever-present problem.

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried 312
in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is [685]
one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have
given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially [829]
the /*naras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve [271]
thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource [221]
fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the 511
Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2]

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and 322
spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, [942]
the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other [411]
burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is
gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes [412]

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[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 57; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 207; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, [illegible], and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, [illegible]; Seiner, "[illegible]," [illegible].

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in [illegible], "Die [illegible]," [illegible] [114]
[illegible], which relates chiefly to the [illegible]; cf. also van Riet Lowe, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, [illegible]; Passarge, op. cit., [illegible]; [illegible], "[illegible]," [illegible]; [illegible], op. cit., [illegible]; Schultze, op. cit., [illegible]; Werner, "Ueber die Buschleute und Kung[illegible]," [illegible]; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, [illegible]; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," [illegible].

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372 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[405] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes
decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for
holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as
pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is
twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes
their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

474 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
231 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants'
eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their
huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops,
and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[433] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few
smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.
198 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by
the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made
karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco
pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing
the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins,
while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and
various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and
points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes,
etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers
for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[297] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned
into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

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Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and 462 garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others [463] in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation [786] is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services.

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in 184 that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and 463 other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The [936] production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the [illegible] neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the !O Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at [illegible], where only the good shots were hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life.

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources 177 of their environment almost everything they really need, economically 439

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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," [illegible]; D. F. Bleek, "Buschleute von Angola," [illegible].

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[437] they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has
439 made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself
[437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading
[439] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 The !O Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go
[184] out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by
[222] barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the river-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade
438 relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes farther north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again farther south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard
[438] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen
438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former
439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

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[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit. 12-3; idem, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.

[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; idem, *Die Buschmänner*, 118-19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168.

[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 152-3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37-8.

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made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, 438
etc., which they obtain through the Heikum from the OvaKwangari 439
and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at Nossanabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand, passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to Europeans and BeChwana for tobacco, dagga, or trade goods, and the latter, again, they pass on to the Auen.

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer [443]
of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely
through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann 437
describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds. He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens,
women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade. [114]
This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would, with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a 421
sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1]
The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we 423

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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," [illegible]; Seiner, "Aus der Namib," [illegible]; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, [illegible]; Lebzelter, "Bei den Kung-Buschleuten," [illegible].

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[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognised. All
422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[695] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
987 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
422 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone
22 who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[695] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
428 man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried
[766] with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her
[931] ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

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daughters are completely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest 428
son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, [768]
and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with 618
which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kgosana*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each 621
band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organised government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen [622]
and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but
his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the 559
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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 20, 31; Kaufmann, op. cit., 139; [illegible], op. cit., 304; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 120-3; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 63-4; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," [illegible] seq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 98. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realises that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the administration and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland." (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926-7, Colonial Reports No. 1370, p. 8). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

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554 587 band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[5]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the 622 bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a [184] recognized chief (*//[illegible] or //[illegible], gao-aob or gei-khoib*; the last two [192] words are of Hottentot origin).[6] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This [164] rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band [171] in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal [611] basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two [595] wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen,[7] is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

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[5] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, p. [illegible]; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," [illegible]; Trenk, *op. cit.*, [illegible]; Seiner, *op. cit.*, [illegible].

[6] Kaufmann, "Die ǃKung," [illegible]; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, [illegible]; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," [illegible]; Lebzelter, "Bei den ǃKun-Buschleuten," [illegible].

previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating 622
to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits
ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the
ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may
be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic [184]
functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that,
in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded
as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they
do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise
a considerable influence in the life of the community.

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than
a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very [157]
slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality.
If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun,
he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special
authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has
no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way
of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over
the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within
the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided,
of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom.
In general the head of each family has control over the movements [593]
of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while
they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters.

This absence of any organized system of public control does not 183
imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their
institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations
between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order.
The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist 867
definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners
and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously
into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes
to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less
deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social
sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the
community. The education they receive in the households of their
parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important [881]
teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal
lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their
activities accordingly.

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681 There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognised custom is penalised, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [704] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [729] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention 627 of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [576] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [697] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognised mode of reaction, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognised way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal actions penalised in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., [illegible]; Trenk, op. cit., [illegible]; D. F. Bleek, Naron, [illegible].

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (Bushman Folklore, [illegible]) among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents can

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among the Namib Bushmen the victim may take back not only the 627
stolen property, but also all the thief's possessions. That blood 685
vengeance is actually exercised in case of theft appears from the
following incident recorded by Miss Bleek. An Auen man had a good 629
deal of tobacco, most of which he hid in a tree. Returning later he 685
found the tobacco gone, and human footprints round the tree. He followed the spoor to one of a cluster of huts, where he saw a Bushman sitting at the fire cutting the stolen tobacco. Although he had only a spear with him, he darted up and stabbed the thief to death. The man's wife, intervening, was also stabbed. Then the assailant tried to escape, but was shot in the side by a poisoned arrow from the group round the next fire. He succeeded in reaching his home, but died of the poison a few days later. Similarly, in the waterless regions of the Namib Desert, men on the hunt often store up supplies of water in ostrich egg-shells and also of meat. Another person coming upon this supply may take from it, but must follow the spoor of the owner, tell him about it, and recompense him. If this is not done the owner, when he discovers the loss, will follow the spoor of the thief until he finds him and will then kill him if he can.

Here, according to Trenk, homicide in case of theft and adultery 114
is apparently not regarded as murder, but as punishment, and the 629
relatives of the deceased may not take blood vengeance. But, as 682
shown in the instance quoted from Miss Bleek, among other Bushmen
homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, leads inevitably to blood [184]
vengeance, the relatives of the dead man combining to kill the
murderer. This appears also from another instance recorded by 627
Knudsen.[3] A Bushman, not far from Bethanie in South-West Africa, 682
shot another in the leg with an arrow during a honey beer drinking-bout. The wounded man revenged himself on the spot by shooting his assailant in the heart and killing him. The dead man's brother pursued the killer, who fled, but could not overtake him, and so returned to the camp, where he met the man's wife carrying a child. He tore it from her, threw it up in the air and caught it on the point of his spear. The mother saved herself by fleeing, but two other women

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still living, she may be handed over to them and they all have to leave the camp. Should the father be dead and the mother alive, the thief is still taken and given back to the latter, after the stolen property has been recovered. But, if she is an old offender, the mother is said to give her, through a son, to another person, to be burned to death. These facts, obtained from a single young informant, need, however, to be confirmed. The deliberate burning to death of people, for whatever reason, is not reported of any of the other Bushmen.

[3] Quoted in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Mitt. dtsch. Schutzgeb.*, [illegible]

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627 related to the homicide were killed by the brothers. What happened
692 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
623 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
692 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kiri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at [illegible]. The host put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[180] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
632 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

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[1] Seydel, op. cit., p. 4.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill the slayer with the kierie or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is [114]
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated
from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [474]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

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Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a
rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before
returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her
first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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619 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes,
621 owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again
[221] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common
[425] hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only
of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found
hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each
band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery,
114 however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between
619 different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most
621 important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are
indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for
ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn
together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his
[579] preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement
that in the months of March and April different bands come together
for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and
726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several
619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band,
621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such
alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear
that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized
together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations
as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form
of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further
research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon
the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are
619 not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-
621 stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the
629 form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially
[645] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who
628 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,
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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 150.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kung-Buschleuten,'" 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 150; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 11; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 83.

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but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the 649
white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag 685
with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the
territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying
the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game,
then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their
stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly
behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage
and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war
of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen
to its present vanishing figure."[1]

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, 619 621
wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to 685
the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be [224]
given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous.
Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to
bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons
and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women
caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; [628]
this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing
of a man by the members of another band always results in a state
of feud.

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud 628
of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads 685
to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among
the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial
bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the
bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a longstanding
enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility
between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens,
an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it
occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the
weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness,
and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar 628
condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands
of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of
Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led
an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between
bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

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PLATE II

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[illegible] Museum

BUSHMAN ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS
a. [illegible] and Bone Pipes
b. Bone awl
c. Waistband of Ostrich egg-shell beads
d. Tortoise-shell box for holding buchu

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L. Fourie

BUSHMAN SNARE FOR HUNTING GAME

[Face p. [illegible]]

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628 Naron, or the Auen and the !Ohekwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual,
726 but the extent of each campaign is small.[1] The chiefs have general
701 command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace,
[622] where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience
[987] naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons
[741] used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war,
628 but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin,
721 then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made
628 and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year,
726 they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood
628 feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently
727 happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will
[184] under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or
[721] even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134; Fourie, op. cit., 83.

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The

ampaign is brought to an end among the Auen by agreement, 628
oncerned negotiators passing freely between the two groups, and an 727
ndemnity is paid to the victims in the form of women, material 728
bjects, and food. There is no information relating to peace-making
n other tribes, and even Kaufmann's comments about the Auen lacks [184]
orroboration.

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CHAPTER VII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

DEATH AND BURIAL

771 In discussing the social customs and economic life of the Bushmen we have had occasion to note incidentally various usages and beliefs, connected for instance with puberty and especially with food, which point to the existence of some conception of supernatural agencies, and indicate how intimately religion really enters into the everyday activities of the people. The customs and beliefs associated with death afford a further insight into the religion of the Bushmen, for we meet here with their ideas of a future state as well as of spiritual beings.

939 773 [764] The origin of death is recorded in the fable of the Moon and the Hare, which is told with some variations by all the Bushmen and Hottentot tribes, as well as by certain Bantu peoples. The version found among the Cape Bushmen states that the Moon once appeared to the young Hare, telling him not to cry at the death of his mother, for she was not really dead but sleeping, and would return again living, just as the Moon dies and returns again living. But the young Hare did not believe this, and continued to cry, saying that the Moon was deceiving him, whereupon the Moon, infuriated, cursed the Hare and cleft his lip. In another, more widespread, rendering the Moon instructs the Hare to deliver the following message to mankind: "As I die and return again, so shall man die and return again." The Hare distorts the message and tells the men that they will die and not return again. The Moon curses the Hare and cleaves his lip, but ever since then death has existed on earth.[1]

761 [759] There is not much information regarding the Bushman beliefs as to the actual causes of death. The Cape Bushmen apparently recognized that deaths could occur purely by accident, as in the case of a wound from a poisoned arrow, the bite of a lion or leopard, starvation, etc. On the other hand, there was also a strong belief

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[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 9–10; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 56 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 44–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 170.

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that someone could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach 761
of certain prescribed rules of conduct connected especially with the [754]
rain was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony. The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dome*, [776]
who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauwa*) to enter the bodies [753]
of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of the "great chief" *Xu* may be killed by him through the medium of lightning.[3] With the Hiechware, again, no death is ever the result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some supernatural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable, especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognised.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with 764
all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however, Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming. In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, 766
e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

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[1] Bleek, op. cit., 24, 26, 29; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 16, 21, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 373 sqq.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

[3] Lebzelter, "Bei den Kung-Buschleuten," 15; *idem*, "Religiöse Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," 407, 409.

[4] Op. cit., 144.

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766 others are usually abandoned before they die, and the whole camp wanders in the bush.[7]

There is also the well-authenticated fact that old people are some-
888 times deliberately abandoned. When drought and scarcity force the Bushmen to a long hurried march, some old man or woman may be too feeble to keep up with them. They then make a screen of bushes all round the old person, provide a good supply of firewood and a little food and water if possible, and push on, leaving him behind. Should game and water be found within a couple of days' march, some young fellow is sent hurrying back with supplies. Otherwise they do not come near the place again, knowing that the end must have come and hyenas dealt with the remains. This abandonment of the aged has often been characterised as an inhuman trait in the Bushmen; but when the life of the whole band depends upon rapid movement it is difficult to see how they could act other-
[764] wise. Anyone who falls out and dies on such a march will have to
[727] go unburied too, and probably the same fate overtakes those killed in war.[8]

114 Where burial does take place it follows almost immediately after
764 the death. The descriptions available of the actual funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen are far from being exhaustive, and naturally vary somewhat in detail, but a certain degree of uniformity may be noted. The information relating to the Southern tribes is fragmentary. Skeletons of these Bushmen are found buried both in caves and in graves out in the open, but of the customs associated with burial we have very little record. The fullest description is that given
764 by Arbousset of the Basutoland Bushmen. He states that a dead person first has his head anointed with red powder (*boeho*), mixed with melted fat. The corpse is then rudely perfumed (*grossièrement parfumée*), and laid on its side in an oblong grave, to which all the relatives and friends hasten to make their lamentations. They come even from the neighbouring villages to see and examine the body, which is then taken out of the grave; and everybody redoubles his cries and lamentations. At last they throw into the grave the hut of the dead person, and burn it above him. The grave is then filled in with earth to the level of the ground, but no heap of stones is
[764] piled above it. The funeral over, the band leaves the place for a

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[7] Kaufmann, op. cit., 138.

[8] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 121; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110–111; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; Lebzelter, "Bei den Kung-Buschmännern," 14.

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year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but 764
with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and 114
examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not 764
met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as
a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions
and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that
many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their
dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire
to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals.
It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing [769]
to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing
natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is 114
unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives 764
referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have 769
various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of 171
which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but
there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed
by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its 764
left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it.
The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that [532]
in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast,
they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon
them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to
speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of
any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that
they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead
person on the morning following his death, and in any case not [763]
before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours.
The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the
corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

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[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 107–9.

[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 425; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 120. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 132) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 128–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 263) renders "[illegible] parfumée" as "scented ointment", which, as it is repeated by Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.

[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Péringuey, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 107–8; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 501, 541.

764 is a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered
with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon
them, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white
stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the
[825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with
vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals
[766] and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner,
but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying
the corpse to the grave.¹ Trenk gives some additional details.
[775] The thickened top of a certain small bush (*dawe*) is placed in the
hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the
'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich
[536] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave,
round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song;
765 and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows,
in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of
[273] mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a
widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long
the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted,
a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.²

764 Among the Naron, as soon as a person has died those present
[163] raise a short, very distinct cry which lets the whole camp know of the
death. The body, wrapped up in the kaross worn by the dead person
in life, is brought into a contracted position, the knees being bent up
against the chest, the arms crossed and the hands laid on the shoulders,
and is tied up like this with rope for purposes of transport. It is
then laid near the fire, while the women howl and weep over it.
Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. If this occurs at
night, then on the following day; if in the morning, then on the
same day. The grave is a deep, round hole, dug with the hands and
digging-stick at a spot where the soil is not hard. Two or three
men carry the body there, a man jumps in, receives it as it is lowered
down by the ropes, and places it lying on the left side facing the east.
Why this position is customary they do not know. The dead are
buried in all their clothes and ornaments, and all their possessions
are placed in the grave, or if too long, as in the case of a bow or spear,
are hung on a bush close by. Then the grave is filled, and bushes
or stones are thrown on top to keep the animals off. All the village
[165] is present, and the women weep. Next day a near relative burns

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[1] "Aus der Namib," 304.

[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[illegible]
sticks on the grave and says adieu, good-bye. All then move to [765] another locality and avoid the spot for a couple of years; no one will [764] remain in the vicinity, owing to fear of the ghost. After the funeral there are no further mourning rites.[1]

The burial customs of the Auen appear to be generally similar to those of the Naron.[2] The Kung bind the corpse in the same contracted position, and according to Lebzelter also smear it with ochre. The grave, round, shallow, and narrow, is dug by the men preferably under a termite hill, but if there is none in the vicinity any other suitable spot is chosen. The bottom is covered with branches, over which is spread the grass upon which the dead person last slept. The corpse is buried lying on one side; Vedder states that it faces no special direction, Lebzelter that the back is towards the east. Women are buried with their ornaments, men have their weapons placed on the breast, and children their small bows or digging-sticks. The grave is never again visited by the relatives; if their [763] way leads past it, they go round in a tangent.[3]

In the Eastern Kalahari the Bushmen likewise often bury dead people in the termite ant-hills that are so common all over the country. A hole is excavated in which the body is placed in a contracted position. The grave is then surrounded with a fence of thorn bushes to protect it from the jackals and hyenas. The "tame" Bushmen [171] now also bury their dead in much the same manner as do the heathen BeChwana. A round hole three or four feet deep is excavated, in the side of which a recess is made. The corpse is placed in this recess, either sitting or lying on the left side, with the knees doubled up to the chin. The grave, as a rule, is near to the place where the dead person lived. Sometimes they do not take the trouble to excavate the grave, but use an ant-hill or the cleft of a rock. Here also there is apparently no fixed orientation of the corpse, for when Dornan asked his informants if they placed it with the face to the east, some said they did, others said they did not. When a man is buried, his weapons are placed in the grave with him, together with some meat and occasionally a little water, while a woman is buried with a few ostrich egg-shells, some berries and roots. As a rule the dead person's ornaments are also added, though amongst the tame Bushmen they may be removed. "This, however, is not

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 109–10; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[3] Vedder, "Kl-Buschmannsprache," 8; Lebzelter, "Kung-Buschleute," 14.

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764 often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral 765 they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and [766] never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are much affected by death is certain, for they often weep at such times, especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment; and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus decorated.[1]

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

All the accounts given above are admittedly inadequate. They 119 agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a con- 764 tracted position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence 768 of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person may be able to use them in the future world, but because people do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen [769] point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen 775 hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine. Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen, that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there [308] is a place called 'ne/ga, to which after death they will all go; and that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

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[1] Dornan, op. cit., 144-6.

[2] Op. cit., 14.

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hands, beset the entire distance with all kinds of imaginary obstacles 775
and difficulties; and even after all their labour on arriving at the desired destination they will have nothing but flies to live upon." This belief that after a time the dead arise and go to a land where there is an abundance of good food is likewise recorded by Campbell [119]
and by Miss Currie, neither of whom, however, is a specially trustworthy authority. The Bushman informants of Dr. Bleek also spoke of "the place to which the Bushmen go after death", but unfortunately the details given by them have not yet been published. We are unable, therefore, to tell if their ideas of a future life were in any way similar to those reported by Stow and the other writers.[1]

On the other hand, these Bushman informants also had a variety 821
of interesting beliefs linking up death with the phenomena of Nature. 761
The stars, they said, know the time when a Bushman dies, and the 775
fall of one announces, to those who are not aware of it, that something bad has happened. When, after this, a "hammerkop" (*Scopus umbretta*, the "lightning bird" of other South African tribes) flies, [825]
calling out, over the camp, the people know that someone belonging to them has died. When rain is accompanied by lightning, girls who are out in the open become killed by the lightning and are converted into stars, while those who are taken away by the rain become [824]
beautiful water-flowers, which will not allow themselves to be plucked and disappear when approached. Such flowers must be let alone. Hence the rule that young unmarried women and girls must hide themselves from the rain. The Moon, again, is hollow (in its first quarter) because it is carrying people who are dead. The human heart is believed to fall down after death in the form of a shooting star; the hair of a dead person is changed into clouds, while his gall appears again as a green colour in the sky, and so forth. Dead 775
people may also come in their own forms as apparitions to their relatives and friends, even in waking life. There seems, however, to be no evil portent in this; nor, indeed, does there seem to be any noticeable fear of dead persons on the whole, although we are told that the names of those who are dead must not be uttered by children at night.[2]

The Namib Bushmen, on the other hand, seem to fear dead people greatly, and, as we have seen, the thickened *dawas* sap placed in the [764]

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[1] Stow, *op. cit.*, 131; Campbell, *Second Journey in S. Africa*, i, 29; Currie, "Bushmen of Namaqualand," 117; Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19.

[2] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 25; Bleek and Lloyd, *op. cit.*, 365–71, 389–401.

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775 [764] [776] hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however, that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children, to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

761 Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganised Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says 764 they believe in a "good being" named *//khauwa* and a "bad being" 775 named *Gauwa*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to [776] *//khauwa*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gauwa*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often [761] suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy, so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of [114] the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described does not make this clear.[2]

775 [192] [776] [114] [791] The word *Gauwa*, or, more correctly, *//gāūa* or *//gauwa*, which Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die become *//gauwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women, however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gauwa*, and only such men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

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[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168.

[2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not expect real harm from them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1] 775

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami—"dream, ghost, spirit." It is met with again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. [192] Miss Bleek was told by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises from the grave the ghost, //gaüa, which can be seen by magicians. This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co-workers could conjure up //gaüa by dancing and singing. [791] In what form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost, people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in the papers recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among the Kung and the Heikum.[3] [114] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, oa, which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the spirits, //Gauab, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xu*. [776] This hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the //gauab of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade" which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life, and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung of the Oschimpoloveld, again, believe that every man has a soul, */gau-ba*, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Erob*) in the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with "God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out of them.

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *darish*, goes up into the sky to */Gamab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold [776]
water and eats it.

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[1] *The Naron*, 26.

[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 341; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123, 124.

[3] "Religiöse Vorstellungen der //Khun," 409-12 *passim*; idem, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschmännern,'" 14.

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775 water and eats it. The soul then dwells with him, but frequently comes down to earth again and kills a member "of the family which handled it during its lifetime". The group in North-East Ondonga (Ovamboland) believe that the soul, /gaube, goes up into the sky, to the "house of God", and does not remain on earth; while the people of Ukuambi say that when a man is dead he becomes strange and is divided into three parts: the decaying body, the ghost or shade, /gaua-i, which goes about on earth and does mischief, and the real soul, nauba, which goes to live in the house of the "great captain", and there feeds on flies.

Here, it will be noticed, the part of man surviving the death of the body is on the whole believed to fall into two separate entities, having different fates. The ghost (||gauab, /gaua-i) remains on earth and in the vicinity of the grave, while the soul (duriob, ua, /gau-ba, /gaube, nauba, the last four of which appear to be cognate forms of the same root) ascends to the "house of God" in the sky. The fate of the latter at once recalls the afterworld to which dead people are said to go by Stow and other writers on the Southern Bushmen; the former is obviously identical with the concept of ||gauwa described by Miss Bleek for the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung. The word ||gauwa among the North-Western tribes is, however, as we shall presently find, not restricted to the ghosts of dead persons. It is also used for a wider spiritual concept, and thus links up the beliefs concerning death with other aspects of Bushman religious belief.

In the Eastern Kalahari we meet again with the notion of an afterworld. Some of Dornan's informants said that after death the spirit of the deceased takes a long journey, and finally arrives at a certain place where he joins his fathers who have gone before him. They did not know the whereabouts of this place, but said that it is warm and has plenty of game. Other informants, however, asserted 775 that the spirits of the dead remain about the places where burials have 769 taken place. Hence the Bushmen avoid these localities as much as possible, and if they have occasion to pass them, "give them as wide a berth as possible, and often throw a small pebble on the grave, muttering at the same time some words to the spirit to ensure them good luck. This is to appease the spirit lest he might resent the intrusion. Any Bushman in the hunting field if he comes suddenly on a grave either of one of his own people, or other natives, will avoid stepping over it if he possibly can, and will throw a small stone upon it as above. All these observances indicate that they believe the

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spirit remains alive about the place, and they do not want 775 to offend it."[1] 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate 114 of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's 775 statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern 769 Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the [184] Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation.

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are 775 believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of [753] the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence [769] of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people 114 being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's 184 informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for 769 rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer 789 addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be

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[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147-8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

114 asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life
760 and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when
769 alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bush-
789 men do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world
[775] of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

782 Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the
821 worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers
[776] directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too
[114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

539
782
821

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

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[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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921 [539] [782]

Ye Moon lying there,
Thou must look at this arrow,
That I may shoot a springbok with it to-morrow.

In the mythology of these people the Moon is represented now as the shoe of the Mantis, which he threw into the sky to give him light, now as a man gradually sliced down to almost complete extinction by the sun; and it is also connected, as we have seen, with the origin of death. But that it is more than merely a mythological character to them is shown not only by the prayers, but also by various special observances relating to it. The Moon is not to be laughed at, lest it become angry and go into the sky (i.e. become eclipsed). A Bushman child for the same reason is warned by his father not to look at the Moon as it rises behind the mountain, for fear of arousing its anger and causing it to become obscured. Above all the Moon may not be looked at when game has been shot, lest the wounded animal be lost.[1] [778]

Prayers are also found addressed to the Sun and, more frequently, to the Stars. Abundance of food is attributed to them, and the prayers, like those addressed to the Moon, ask for success in hunting and collecting, and say, in effect, "send food, that we may live and not die." Certain stars are asked for certain foods, probably those that come into season about the time the star first appears in the evening sky. Canopus, for instance, known as the "Bushman rice (ants' larvae) Star", is addressed as follows[2]:— 782 821

[539]

O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok,
O Star coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star-body coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok to-morrow;
O Star coming there,
I give thee my heart;
Do thou give me thy heart;
O Star coming there,
I may see a porcupine to-morrow,
Let the dog kill it,
Let me eat it,
Let me eat filling my body,
That I may lie sleeping at night.

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[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 7, 9-10, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, Index s.v. "Moon"; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen", 143; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 304-6.

[2] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 307.

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821 The first appearance of this star in the evening sky is also the occasion for the performance of a certain ceremony. In the words 789 of Dr. Bleek's informant, "The Bushmen perceive Canopus, they 372 say to a child: 'Give me yonder piece of wood, that I may put (the end of) it (in the fire), that I may point (it) burning (towards) grandmother; for, grandmother carries Bushman rice; grandmother shall make a little warmth for us; for she coldly comes out; the sun shall warm grandmother's eye for us.'" About the same time as Canopus, Sirius appears, and a similar ceremony takes place; the man who first saw the star is asked to "burn (a stick) for us (towards) Sirius; that the sun may shining come out for us; that Sirius may not coldly come out". He holds the end of the stick in the fire until it has caught alight, and then points it towards the star, moving it up and down quickly. "He sings; he sings (about) Canopus, he sings (about) Sirius; he points to them with fire, that they may twinkle like each other. He throws fire at them. He covers himself up entirely (including his head) in (his) kaross and lies down. He arises, he sits down; while he does not again lie down; because he feels that he has worked, putting Sirius into the sun's warmth; so that Sirius may warmly come out."[1] Both these stars appear in winter, hence the cold is connected with them. The ceremony just described is therefore almost certainly a warming incantation. It is said also that it will make the stars rise higher, for the higher they stand above the eastern horizon at sunrise, and the more brightly they twinkle, the more nearly winter draws to an end.

773 In the mythology the stars are held to have once been animals 821 or people of the Early Race, in some cases people who had been transformed upon breaking some taboo. Many of the stars and constellations, as Dr. Bleek points out, bear names which they apparently owe only to the fact that they are seen at certain times when the animals or other objects whose names they bear come into season or are most abundant. This would suggest the close connection between them and the food supply. "Of course," he adds, "when such names as steinbok, hartebeest, eland, anteater, lion, tortoise, etc., had once become attached to certain stars or constellations, fancy might step in and try to discover the shapes of those animals (or other objects) in the configuration of the stars; whilst, at the same time, mythological personification would begin its work,

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[1] *Bushman Folklore*, 338–41.

and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived 773
histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman 821
mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to 821
enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship 771
directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies
associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is
evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, 776
but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating 782
to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again 821
meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the [184]
Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who
is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the
Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the
horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their
houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen.
The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two
of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their
hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we [789]
may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern
ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the
sky and the God (*/khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in [177]
the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to
pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern
Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long
ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as
well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last 821
century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded [782]
in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter
there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or [178]
moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, 773
who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the 821
shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

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[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape. Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–4; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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821 [773] and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky. This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

[792] [535] Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the !O Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her, in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

||nwa-se ||kakama ||gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
||nwa-se tanama ||gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
||nwa-se tada a ||gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This di[illegible]ction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. [193] [196] In Naron and Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger ; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said : "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers [782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that [184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything [782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

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[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun-Buschmänner*," 401; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh Buschleuten" 13.

[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 13; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 126, 124.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence 821
of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen [782]
have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In [177]
view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman
tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly
been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most [114]
reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot
be regarded as a fully reliable authority.

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship 821
of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among 771
the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; 782
in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of
the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen,
and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for
rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of [776]
as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult.
At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be 773
a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen 776
tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape [184]
Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been
formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several
others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is
ǂhunta/katt/katten, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). [825]
They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further
mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*/gaunu* is the name of a certain
star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by
baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son,
/kaggen-ʘpwa, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales,
where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own
children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. [825]

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[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

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773 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer,
776 but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself.
She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified
[821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children,
/kwammanga-⊙pwa, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention
[751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used
by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen
825 as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed
821 towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of
a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was
shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought
821 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole,
825 and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One
[789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-
magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they
can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

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[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–7; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 3–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; *idem*, *Bushman Folklore*, 305.

can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible. Among 821 825
the many rock-paintings left by the Bushmen in the caves and rock-shelters of their country there are pictures "of wonderful animals, [532]
such as certainly never existed; these the Bushmen of fifty years ago explained as Rain bulls, Rain animals. With them are often seen frogs, fish, tortoise, and snake, the animals protected by the Rain".[1] Certain snakes found near a waterhole are believed to be kept in store by the Rain, and for fear of arousing its wrath may not be eaten by young unmarried men and women; nor may frogs be killed, lest drought ensue. When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind, and various transformations effected. Young women are particularly exposed to danger from the Rain, and to avoid this they must observe various rules of conduct. They [782]
must propitiate the waterhole by means of *buchu* and *tto* (aromatic shrubs); they must hide themselves from the Rain; they must not snap their fingers at people, nor may they be spoken to against their wish, lest the anger of the Rain be thereby aroused. There are many [773]
legends telling how disobedient girls were punished, together with those around them, by the angry Rain, or were taken up by his agency in a whirlwind and transformed into frogs, snakes, porcupines, stars, water-flowers, etc. Such transformations are also illustrated [532]
in the rock-paintings.

The Rain thus appears as something to be respected or feared, 821
since it has power to change people into animals and other objects, as 773
well as to destroy with storms and terrible lightning. At the same 825
time it also brings water and makes food grow. In connection with this latter aspect Miss Bleek says: "That Bushmen realized the life-giving powers of water is clear, as all tales of rebirth are connected therewith. The Mantis restores his son and his sister, the Blue crane, to life after they have been killed by throwing a part of their body into the water. In course of time this part grows up into the person to which it had belonged. In the same way he makes an eland of a shoe (perhaps a piece of eland's skin). An ostrich is killed; one of its feathers blows into the water and becomes a new ostrich."

"Yet in spite of the Bushman's dependence on water and realization 782 821
of its power," she goes on to say, "he does not represent it as a man [776]
or god. One instance is known to me of the Rain being addressed, when it is wrathful and lightens; but the first part of the speech is to the dead men who ride it:—

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 38.

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821
[539]

> O galloper,
> O galloper,
> Do ye not know me?
> Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

> Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
> For the women are looking shocked at thee;
> Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
791 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with
821 them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so
when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other
magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected
by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it
tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly
they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears
the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed
that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked
for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song
of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it,
and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance
of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from
the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm
medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

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[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cäi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring [782]
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing
said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun;
but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that
dance know these things."[1] *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaz* and
Gcwi, and together with him and *Cogaz* there was another great
"chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was
Cagn who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaz was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*,
is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen
of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as
a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change
himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by
animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses
various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the [825]
birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on.
Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by
Cogaz, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation
from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who
is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former
is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the
female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

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* [1] [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.'—Analyst]

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Ko('ngo), as
776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the
Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers
are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is
also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians,
who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological
character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative
powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his
special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified
with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a
variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and
the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have
much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention
of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about
Hishe or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and
who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game
and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people,
bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage
and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the
magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of *!khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the
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[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage, etc.*, 501, 503–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.

[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves
by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, [648]
remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567]
attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They
also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177]
"captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184]
Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once
mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773]
with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people
attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to [782]
him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held
once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, [796]
and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to [755]
health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.

[3] "Grammatik der !Kū-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: [114]
!Kuh is elsewhere written *//Khu*, *//gauab* alternates with */gauab*, *gagorab* with */gau /gorab*, and so on.

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776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu'e*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by [782] him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of [194] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the [821] chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of 184 the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he 776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak [782] of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

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[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun-Buschmänner*," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.

[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including 184 mankind, and he sends the rain. 776 He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, [821] before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at [782] Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among [224] the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1]

The !O Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to [787] people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek.

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dzimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dzimo* is a corruption of the Chwana [177] word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger [782] threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According 184 to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all 776 things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in 224 hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; [821] when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived

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[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarising Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; idem, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 188, 183.

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114 from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were
776 with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on
[224] its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy
[539] voice: 'Thora ha Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe
[782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*,
821 *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*,
[776] *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used
[184] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or
[775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme
192 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the
776 ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother,
114 while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

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[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 186, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone in it!"

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while those dying a "good death" go to */khutse* (*/khuba*). "About 114
the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are 192
their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But 776
he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen [773]
is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" [891]
into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe 184
in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only 192
evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. 776
The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. [751]
When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone [821]
is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in
the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's [761]
informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the [775]
sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem [821]
to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at
a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said [881]
to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said [304]
that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground,
and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. [782]
This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by 114
Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the 184
Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" 776
Xu is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all
dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he [192]
himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both [821]
helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the [756]
magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They [787]
are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by
ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by
the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we
[184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa*
is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung."
/nawa or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for
[782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives
[224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most
[753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been
baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung;
others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence
and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere
and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service
of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-
776 fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the
souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group
comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home
is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to
mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits
dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the
[753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies,
who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people
and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove
[756] them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate
184 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*,
776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play
practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead,"
says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*,
[192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence
[177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this
being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal
//gauab of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama
and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind
and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

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[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khau-Buschmänner*," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuŋ-Buschleuten," 15.

[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and 184
the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his 776
hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the
latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern [821]
Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of [761]
someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of
blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the
"benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East
Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks [192]
of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including
mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a [782]
journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls
of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the [775]
magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. [756]
There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; [753]
while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none [372]
of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was
doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are,
according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" [192]
variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, [753]
the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out [777]
to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat
his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the [782]
lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will 184
mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." 776
They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the 821
lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they 825
can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan,
"I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad,
and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is
struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the
lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the
Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism 771
in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, 776
Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the 184 776 192

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[1] Op. cit., 410.
[2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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184
776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell
[192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, " her nymphs " also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114
776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception
771
776 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177
776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of */khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dzimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter
[797] as the name for the " Supreme Being " among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for " God ".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

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[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 997, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -*l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among 177
the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This 776
is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes [184]
is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as "the evil being", "the devil" or "Satan" must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. [797]
The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for "Devil", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show 177
clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as 771
recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different 776
beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, [184]
or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion [114]
of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic "supreme good being" dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its [821]
associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the [224]
collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is [782]
[756]

776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many
children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting.
On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which
are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these
ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association
with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector
of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that
this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe*
is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the
prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are
directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen.
Thora is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between
Huwe and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen.
Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological
character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths
relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further
[775] made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis,
just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern
Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and
Huwe is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at 184
the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially 776
concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are [761]
addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also
connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" [224]
(probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological [782]
character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association [755]
with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute
identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects,
however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant
our connecting the two.

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, 184
etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the 775
first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist
assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the
Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western
tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people
are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among [753]
the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness,
some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls
of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about
on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the
Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to
earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead
people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of [753]
injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same [761]
idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern [769]
Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent
the intrusion."

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified 184
being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear 776
on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe [192]
thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning [821]
they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death
in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon [775]
as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also
the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, [821]
while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills
people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamabe* [753]
(*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while

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776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and
[821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting
stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*,
[825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind.
[777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of
[753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder-
[821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further
the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and
[825] may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get
[753] the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death,
acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting
stars.

184 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the
776 conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the
latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths
821 as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal,
and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When
the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirl-
wind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind
forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order
[764] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also
[775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars;
shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken
[825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*,
known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird",
here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be
added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are
said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed
by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for
some past misdeed.[1]

184 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares
776 certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly
among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does
not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of
the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other
[782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan
[755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the
[775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who
[821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

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[1] Seyfried, "Aus der Namib," 194.

makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [224]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [782]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [753]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or [178]
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled 881
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's [184]
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [224]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [753]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [821]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, [775]
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

MAGIC AND MAGICIANS

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */giχa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [754] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

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[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong 756
to *//Hishe*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered [825]
as medicine.

Naron magicians (*tsho k'auba* or */nu k'auba*) do not dress or live
differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know
them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much
influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than
the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, [184]
according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*tsho k'au, /nu k'au* or */geixa*)
have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which
may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is
learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty
ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. [868]
At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys
who have been with a magician for many years can when they become
older succeed their master.[1]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called
in especially for illness. The */u k'au*, who sucks out the disease [184]
from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no [755]
one and always looks black"; while the */ue k'au*, according to
Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and [278]
also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.[2] Lebzelter
gives further information about the magicians. Both men and
women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this [787]
calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of
all the spirits with the exception of */nawa*, and is equal to that of the
latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's
expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the
secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old
magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then
subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner
attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison"
("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of
the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted
by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment,
they have satisfactorily passed the test!

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing
the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the [787]

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 159.
[2] "Grammatik der !kũ-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over
and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger
and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain
in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the
camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He
climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to
meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain,
he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts
him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays
to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord.
As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold
upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows
immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
756 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals
791 the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[785] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony
of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in con-
firmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

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[1] Lebzelter, "Religiöse Vorstellungen usw.," 408-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kung-Buschleuten," 15.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.

[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. 773
Tji-Tji had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, 'If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here 754
made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North- 114
Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece 411
of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp 756
thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows [184]
described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

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[1] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.
[2] *Naron*, 28.

114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used
for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated
789 with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and
beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination.
Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of
[184] beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number
with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood,
184 leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four
787 in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad,
the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

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[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.

[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and 184
those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original 787
elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been 114
taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in 177
the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones 787
of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned 751
by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be
omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, [184]
that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off
disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various [777]
kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also 787
regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them.
Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad 789
dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, [755]
when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

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[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.

[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

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CHAPTER VIII

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

DANCING AND MUSIC

535 DANCES and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some dances are definitely of a ritual character, being held only on ceremonial occasions, e.g. the eland bull dance at a girl's puberty ceremony, the */gi* dance at the boys' puberty ceremony, and the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" among the Bushmen of Basutoland. On the other hand, dancing is often indulged in purely for pleasure, especially in times of plenty, and may take place any fine moonlit night, when the people have had a good meal, and there are enough of them to make it festive. "The girls begin clapping their hands and singing, standing near the huts. Soon a couple of youths turn up and start dancing round in front of them. Then more join, older men and women take part, till [887] the whole crowd, save a few grandfathers, are singing and dancing."[1] On these occasions the young women and girls frequently stripe [302] their faces with black and red paint, occasionally the young men do [534] so too, and most of the dancers tie round their legs strings of dry cocoons which give out a peculiar rattling sound. They may dance half the night through or even go right on till morning.

The dances are on the whole fairly simple in character and are all of more or less the same nature (Plate XII).[2] The dancers, generally men only, go round and round in a circle in single file, stamping rather than dancing in time with the tune; the women form the band and stand at one side, clapping their hands and singing, while the men who are dancing also sing. "In some dances a woman occasionally leaves the line of singers and dances round beside some man, who pays her attention in gesture, either holding a reed over her

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 22.

[2] Stow, *Native Races*, 111–24; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 249–53; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 103–5; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 150–1; D. F. Bleek, loc. cit., Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95–7; Gentz, "Die südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 156–7.

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PLATE XII

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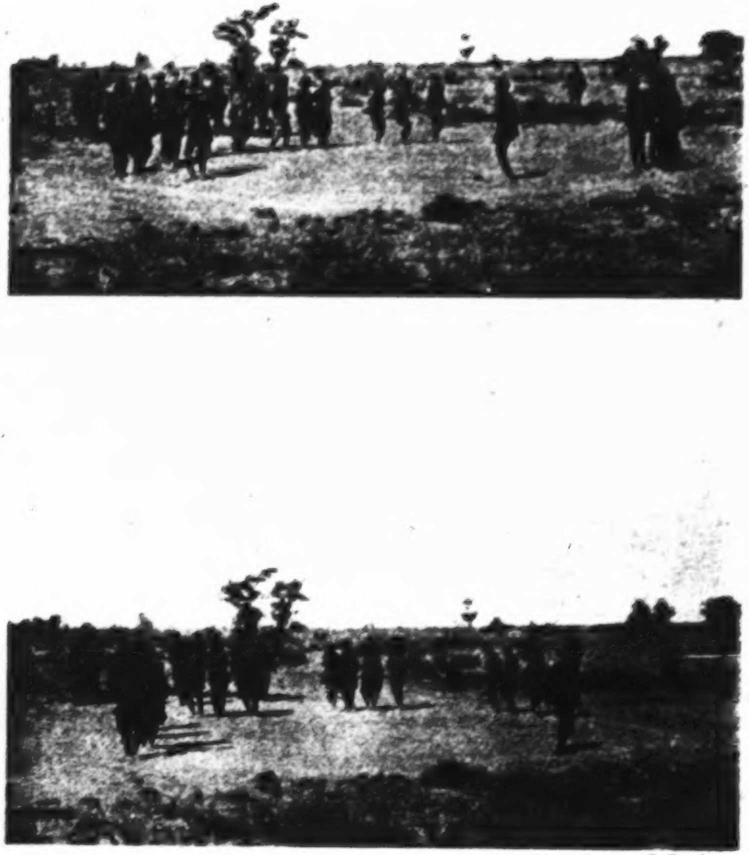

L. Fourie

BUSHMEN DANCING
Notice the circling movement, and the chorus of women at the side

[*face p.* [illegible]]

shoulders, or holding his arms out behind her, without touching her. 535
In other dances the men dance round alone, then approach the line
of singers, holding out their arms. The courting motive is clear, 535
though not indecently expressed."[1] Stow, however, describes 831
certain dances of the Southern Bushmen which he stigmatizes as
lascivious and orgiastic, and in which, he says, "the women appear
to have offered themselves up to sexual congress."[2] There are several
suggestions also that the eland bull dance, as well as various others [114]
imitating the sexual life of animals, may assume a pronouncedly
erotic character, but these suggestions are conveyed as a rule by
our authorities in the form of generalized statements obviously based
on hearsay, and lack concrete illustration.

Most of the dances appear to be based on episodes in the lives of 535
wild animals; the dancers imitate the animals, and go through the 825
actions characteristic of them. Several of these dances, observed by
Fourie among the Heikum, may serve to illustrate their general character. In the Jackal and Wolf dance, in which only the men take part, a hyena is represented feeding on a carcase and keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again, as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass, the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way. The Horse dance is likewise danced by men only, who go round quickly in a circle, while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse. The Gemsbok dance, again, represents a gemsbok bull, cow, and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The buck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought to bay. Then the men pretend to shoot, bows and arrows being represented by sticks, and one of the buck goes down wounded, while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both men and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for.[3]

Among the Southern Bushmen the dancers often made themselves up to represent various animals, birds, and imaginary monsters, with the aid of either paint or the skins, heads, and horns of the objects to be represented. In many of their dances "they were so dressed as to represent a particular animal, when the dance was called by its name; such was the *t'Gorlo'ka*, the *Man-nia*, or Baboon dance, in

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[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.
[2] Stow, op. cit., 115, 118–19.
[3] Op. cit., 96.

535 which the performers imitated all the actions and droll grimaces of 825 rival baboons, springing, gambolling, and running upon all fours, chattering and grimacing like a troop of excited simiadae. Another, and one which also appeared a favourite amongst them, was the '*Kloo-rou-o*, or Frog dance, in which they squatted, and leaped, and rolled about like a lot of inebriated batrachians. A third of this kind was the *t'Oi*, or Bee dance, when the company transformed themselves into a swarm of bees, and performed their evolutions with a buzzing chorus. "On special occasions," Stow continues, "they held a general masquerade, when each one took the disguise or head-dress of some particular bird or animal, and upheld the character during the performance. This appears to have been considered one of their grand national dances, and was reserved for their high festivals; it was one which even their greatest artists delighted to depict, and probably it had some hidden meaning known to the initiated."[1] It is not unlikely, as Stow suggests, that such dances were also of a ritual character, but of their function and relation to the social life generally hardly anything is known.

526 Games are often played in the evenings too, by grown-up people of both sexes as well as by children.[2] 535 A favourite game of the women, found among the Southern Bushmen, as well as in the north, is a ball game which is almost a dance. The players stand in a line [533] clapping their hands and singing a wordless tune. One of them dances about opposite the others with a melon or round tuber in her hand. At the end of the tune she throws the ball to the player at the right hand of the line, who dances out to catch it, and herself dances back to the left end, where she joins in the singing and clapping. The next player does the same, and so the game goes on till all have had several turns. Sometimes, again, they play at the capture of 524 brides by young men, as among the Naron, or at games based on 536 animal experiences, as among the Heikum. One of the latter, for instance, represents how a white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. "The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to

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[1] Op. cit., 117–18.

[2] Stow, op. cit., 97–102; Kaufmann, op. cit., 149–50; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 18–21; Fourie op. cit., 97–8.

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side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful 524 thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the 536 others to come and see."[1]

Men's games have mostly a competitive character. In one each 526 player has a thin stick, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such a manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. Each strives to make his stick go farthest. In another a thin short stick, with two or three feathers tied to its upper end and weighted at the lower end by means of a large berry or bean, is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again. In others, again, a small melon or some similar object is put up as a target at which, from a certain distance, the men shoot with their arrows or throw their spears, the successful marksman receiving some food or tobacco as a prize. Still another, described by 524 some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen under the name of "Bushman cards", is played with a stone or small piece of wood. The man who has the bit of wood rapidly changes it from one hand to the other, so as to bewilder his companions, and finally asks one of them to guess in which hand it is concealed. If the guess is wrong the player sings out, "You eat the dog, I eat the meat," but if the guess is correct he says, "I eat the dog, you eat the meat," and hands the wood over to his companion. The players, it is said, will sometimes keep up this game for hours at their evening fire.

Children's games among the Naron and Auen, again, have such 524 motives as a snake lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole, 857 a struggle for the ownership of cattle, a man bartering goods from a trader, cock ostriches fighting with elephants who have come to drink at a waterhole, and a fight between two opposing groups, who pretend to shoot each other. In the first of these, one boy is the water snake. "He crouches on knees and elbows close to a small heap of sand which represents the pool. Some ten yards off the other players sit flat on the ground, close behind one another; each one putting her legs on either side of the one before her, and locking her feet over the other's thighs, forming a chain with the biggest in front. They sway from side to side edging forwards as they go, meanwhile singing an old song of which some of the words are no longer understood... Now and then they interrupt their slow progress to dig up and eat in dumb show an imaginary water root. On reaching the 'pool', the chain breaks up, all gather round the water

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[1] Fourie, loc. cit.

524 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks
857 sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water.
The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the
'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends
to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have
songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally
[535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many
of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often
sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of
musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are
generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that
the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss
Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish,
much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes,
[535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit
the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up.
That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same
note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they
please."

Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances,
534 although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are
variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the */goura*,
was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary
bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to
the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end
of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate
by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing
the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the
musical bow, commonly known as the */gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell
attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box.
The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small
piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen
consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow
for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted
[177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

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[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19.

[2] Op. cit., 22.

[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 95–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–12; Kaufmann, op. cit., 150–1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Goura—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.

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violin bow is not characteristic of South African native music, 534 although it is well known further north. Neither the */goura* nor the [177] */gubo* is very common among the Northern Bushmen, where the principal and in some cases the only form of musical bow is the hunting bow itself. One end of this is held between the teeth by the performer, who picks on the string with a small piece of wood or bone, varying the pitch by running his fingers up and down the string. Stow describes and figures other forms of the musical bow found among the Southern Bushmen, all of which have been developed out of the simple form.

Among other musical instruments, found principally among the [184] Southern tribes, was a kind of reed flute or pipe, used with certain of the dances. These pipes were made of reeds cut to different sizes and lengths, so as to obtain a variety of notes. They were played by several performers at the same time, each with a distinct note to his pipe, and the effect lay in harmonizing the different notes. The "rommel pot", */koa*, was also sometimes used to accompany the dance. This was a drum or tambour made by stretching a piece of skin tightly over the mouth of a clay pot, a wooden calabash or a big tortoise-shell. The "ramakib", a sort of guitar made out of a hollowed piece of wood with a calabash or rough touch-board attached to one end, over which are drawn several strings, was, like the musical bow, used by soloists, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanying songs, but never with dances. There do not seem to be any professional musicians, although, as Kaufmann remarks, one does in fact find people who obviously take greater delight in music than others, and these are naturally the usual performers.

Decorative and Pictorial Art

Decorative art among the Bushmen is limited mainly to seriated 531 incisions of crude pattern found on the pottery of the Cape Bushmen, and to simple chevron patterns incised by the North-Western tribes upon the ostrich egg-shells used for storing water and upon their stone and bone pipes. Skin bags ornamented with similar patterns are also known, as well as wooden utensils and sticks decorated with line designs produced by burning. This form of art is as a whole very poorly developed, and of little intrinsic merit. It is not often met with.[1]

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[1] Gretschel, op. cit., *passim*; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 672–3; Peringuey, *The Stone Ages of S. Africa*, chap. xiv; von Luschan, "Buschmann-Einritzungen auf Straussenelern," *Z. Ethn.*, lv, 31–40.

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[178] Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the whole culture of the Bushmen was their pictorial art, consisting of paintings and engravings executed on rock surfaces (Plate XIII).[1] The practice of this art has now almost completely died out, a necessary consequence of the virtual extermination of the artists themselves. Its study now belongs to the province of archaeology, for save in a few rare instances it has proved impossible so far to find any living people who could interpret the designs or throw any light upon the social aspects of the art. The paintings and engravings remain as a very valuable record of an art that now seems to be lost; but they have proved a most important link in the chain of evidence connecting the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures not only of South Africa but of East and North Africa also, as well as of South-Western Europe.[2]

Their distribution in South Africa extends from the Brandberg Mountains in South-West Africa to the upper reaches of the Tugela River in Natal, from the Humansdorp district on the south coast right up to the Zambesi River in the north. They are found especially over the greater part of the Cape, Griqualand West, Basutoland, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Southern Rhodesia, but occur also in parts of South-West Africa, British Bechuanaland, and Natal. This distribution no longer coincides with that of the Bushmen themselves. It is impossible therefore to say whether all the tribes possessed the artistic talent or not. The Bushmen south of the Molopo River certainly painted down to a very recent date, and so did certain of the Namib groups.[3] The rocks in the north-west may be evidence that the ancestors of the Auen and the Kung also did so, but the present people certainly do not, and have not even any traditions relating to the art.[4] In the Kalahari itself, where most [135] of the surviving Bushmen now live, the absence of suitable rock material precludes the practice of the art. It is perhaps no wonder, therefore, that the tribes found there have not the faintest recollections of it. Dornan, however, states that the Bushmen living along the Sansokwe River, in the extreme Eastern Kalahari, were still painting a few years ago.[5]

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[1] The literature on this aspect of Bushman culture is voluminous. The most useful general works are: Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*, 1909; Moszeik, *Die Malereien der Buschmänner*, 1910; Zelizko, *Felsgravierungen der südafrikanischen Buschmänner*, 1925; Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, chaps. vii–ix, and bibliography.

[2] Cf. Schapera, "Some Stylistic Affinities of Bushman Art," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxii (1925), 504–15; Burkitt, op. cit., *passim*.

[3] The evidence is discussed by Moszeik, op. cit., 10–15; cf. Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, p. xiv; Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 306–7.

[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 41.

[5] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 182, 188–9.

The paintings are most frequently found on the walls of caves and 172
rock shelters, occasionally on isolated rocks out in the open, and in a
few rare instances, as we have seen, on small loose slabs of stone 532
associated with cave burials. The engravings, on the other hand, occur as a rule on outstanding or outlying patches of rock out in the open. The mode of occurrence of these two forms of the art seems to have been determined by the nature of the rock surface available. Where the stone was soft or porous and provided large plane surfaces, paintings were generally made; where it was hard, and there was little prospect of the paints taking a good hold, engraving prevailed. This also explains to some extent why paintings are mostly found in the caves and rock shelters produced by the effects of erosion on the relatively soft shales or sandstones, while engravings are seen on the exposed surfaces of such hard rocks as quartzite, diorite, basalt, diabase, and phyllite.

The technical processes employed in the execution of the designs appear to have been fairly simple. As canvas the rock surface in its natural state was employed; broad plane surfaces were preferred, but where these were not at hand no trouble seems to have been taken either to polish the rough surface of the rock or to level it down in any way.

The only implements used in making the engravings were small
pieces of hard stone with a fairly serviceable point. With these the [524]
artist would laboriously chip away at the rock surface until his design was completed. Some of the engravings consist of only an outline drawing produced by more or less rough pointing and punching, giving the design an appearance known as "pocked". The pocking is usually very shallow, but in some of the figures a comparatively deep groove has been made. Sometimes the outline is completely filled, so that the engraving consists in a design uniformly pocked over the surface. One also finds a continuous grooved outline combined with a shallow pocked body, and in the best specimens the rock surface surrounding the design has been chipped away, leaving a sort of bas-relief in which shading is often skilfully introduced. Some of the engravings in this style are very beautifully done, and it is indeed astonishing to what a degree of excellence the artists could attain, considering the material disadvantages under which they worked.

The paintings are on the whole superior to and more elaborate than the engravings, and offered more scope for freedom of expression.

172 Several different colours were used, the most common being red,
532 black, yellow, white, and brown. These were derived chiefly from
[386] mineral ores—red and brown from hæmatite, yellow from iron
pyrites, white from zinc oxide, while black was obtained from burned wood. The mineral ores were carefully ground down or pounded to a powder, which was then mixed with bone-marrow or animal fat. The outline of the design was first drawn with a burned stick, and the paint, after being moistened with water or saliva, was then smeared on by means of a feather brush or specially prepared tendons.

Various technical styles are also observable in the paintings, chiefly as regards the use of colour. Paintings in which only the outline of the design is coloured are reported from Southern Rhodesia, but are not known elsewhere. As a rule the whole design is filled in with colour, although sometimes the outline is coloured differently from the body. The design is often coloured a uniform monochrome, so as to present, as it were, a silhouette of the object depicted, with no apparent trace of shading. Other designs are in polychrome. Sometimes the colours are sharply separated and seem to have been used to demarcate the various features of the object represented. Thus in the case of the eland we frequently find the horns and hoofs coloured black, the head and back in ochre, while the neck, belly, and legs are in white. In other cases the colours are skilfully blended into one another, producing the effect of modelling. The best specimens of the art are all in this style. It seems, nevertheless, that in the cruder forms at least the artist laid more stress upon the drawing itself than on the colouring. We often find, for instance, that the various limbs of an animal are in different colours, and examples are known where a leopard or lion has been painted a deep red, which cannot be put down to the absence of the natural colour, as in the same scene there are other designs coloured yellow.

The recent investigations of Burkitt have shown that the paintings and engravings are not all of the same age, but that a chronological sequence can be seen in style and technique. Moreover, different styles of art occur in different geographical areas, and these different styles are sometimes found associated with different stone implement industries. Burkitt was able to demarcate three such regional groups
172 of art—the Southern Rhodesia group; the Central group, occurring
184 in the central districts of the Union of South Africa north and west
532 of the great escarpment bounding the interior plateau; and the
Southern group, found chiefly south and east of the mountain

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systems.[1] This grouping appears to have been formulated by him 172
without taking into consideration the numerous specimens of the 532
art found in the south-west Cape, and in South-West Africa, and can 184
therefore scarcely be regarded as definitive, but it provides a most [114]
useful basis for the archæological study of the paintings and engravings.

In Southern Rhodesia, according to him, there are three distinct series of paintings, which when found in superposition always occur in the same order. The oldest series are usually coloured a uniform flat red or yellow, occasionally found in outline only, and the figures are "nicely drawn". Certain paintings in a dark brownish-red are slightly more modern, and the style perhaps more developed, but they belong to the same series. The middle series are all in dark claret, and quite different from anything before, not only in colour, but also in style. There is a certain angularity about the figures; the paintings have clean, sharp outlines; the curves and angles of horns and bodies are well and finely drawn, and the style is vigorous and attractive. Finally we get paintings in earthy yellow, white, and the beginnings of polychrome. The style of art is quite different again and much less attractive, the animal figures heavier, the bodies less shapely, and the legs stiffer.

In the Central group the paintings are much more varied, and seem more modern than those in Southern Rhodesia. They are distinguished by wonderful developments of polychrome and the frequent occurrence of elaborate scenes of battles, dances, etc., such as are not found in Southern Rhodesia. Superposition is of much less importance, but it was noted that wherever paintings comparable in colour and style to the 'dark claret' series of Rhodesia occurred in superposition with any other colours or styles they were always undermost and therefore oldest. The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry.

The Southern art group, again, is invariably associated with the Wilton Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, which, like the Upper Smithfield Industry, is definitely of Bushman origin. The paintings are here totally dissimilar from and far inferior to those

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[1] Op. cit., 116–19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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172. 184 532 of the preceding group. There are no polychromes. The figures for the most part are executed in a uniform bright red, almost vermillion, colour, and the rock background is also frequently reddened and smudgy as well. The animals are poorly drawn, the figures of human beings often large and angular, and the human hand is represented again and again, a feature never found in the Central group and not noted in Southern Rhodesia.

172 532 The objects depicted in these paintings and engravings are for the most part animals and human beings, though inanimate objects also figure occasionally, such as weapons, clothes, shields, trees, etc. Representations of animals hunted as big game—elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, many varieties of antelope, especially the wildebeest and eland, lion, ostrich, and others—all figure very prominently, either singly or in groups. The fidelity with which they are often drawn testifies not only to the Bushman's skill as an artist, but also to his intimate familiarity with and acute observation of the habits and peculiarities of the animals upon which he depended for his subsistence. Exceedingly interesting are the bigger group scenes. Domestic occupations, hunting scenes, cattle raids, tribal fights, dances, even incidents in mythology, all are represented here in the most realistic manner and with a wealth of action. These pictures of scenes and events in Bushman life history, painted by the native artists upon the walls of the caves and rock shelters which they so often inhabited, are invaluable as a record of the conditions under which the old Bushmen lived, and they both illustrate and supplement the descriptions given of these people by outside observers.

The paintings and engravings in general are remarkable not only for their realism, for the fidelity and accuracy with which many of the animal forms are depicted, but also for a freedom from the limitations to delineation in profile characterizing for the most part the drawings of primitive peoples.[1] The aspect usually shown is the profile view, readily explained by the fact that this is the most striking as well as most complete single aspect of quadrupeds, and also happens to be the view that can most easily be represented on a plane surface. There are no drawings in absolute profile; the four legs are always shown, the animal usually being either in motion or in some attitude where this view is possible. Attitudes of a kind

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[1] An excellent critical appreciation of Bushman art is given by Roger Fry, "Bushman Paintings," *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, 333-8; cf. Balfour, Preface (pp. 5-10) to Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*.

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PLATE XIII

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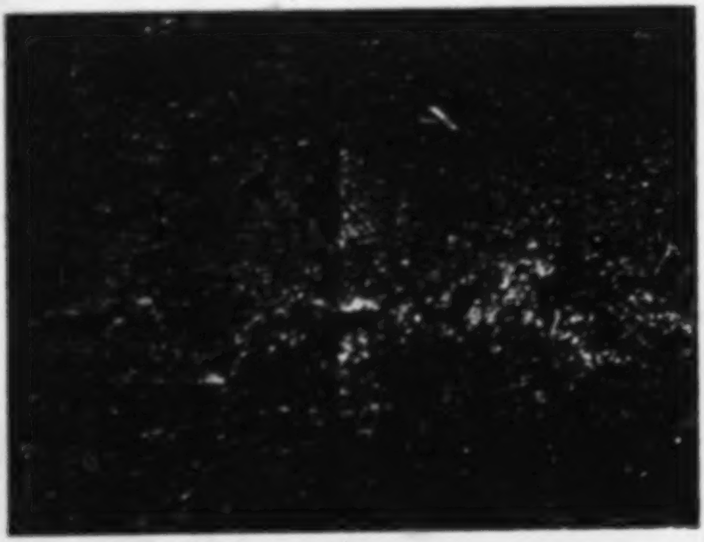

Painted Panel at Nswatugi, Matopos

M. C. Burkitt

Paintings at Domboshawa, near Salisbury
BUSHMAN PAINTINGS IN S. RHODESIA

difficult to render were entered upon without hesitation, such as a kudu lying down or an eland turning its head round towards its back, and occasionally even an appreciation of the rudiments of perspective is to be noted, though only in a crude and uncertain form. The human figures are not so restricted to the profile aspect, but lack the accuracy and realism of the animal drawings. There seems to be a tendency here to impressionism, to seize on certain features of the body and to emphasize or exaggerate these, while others are minimized or ignored, and just sufficient is shown to indicate what the subject is. Often a man will appear all arms and legs and practically nothing else, while in women steatopygia is usually by far the most pronounced detail. 172 532

In addition to single figures and such compositions as a hunter pursuing game or several animals grouped together, there are the interesting series of big group scenes—of cattle drives, dances, and battles—to show very well indeed how the principle underlying Bushman art was fundamentally realism. There is nothing truly schematic in a Bushman drawing. In a battle scene, for instance, it is difficult to pick out the warriors of the two sides; they are all mixed up confusedly, some charging, others flying, and here and there single combats go on at a distance from the main battle. More than this, the men are shown in every conceivable attitude—running, standing, kneeling, crouching, or turning sharply round in the middle of flight to face the enemy once more. "In fact," says Fry, "we have, in all its confusion, all its indeterminate variety and accident, a rough silhouette of the actual appearance of such a scene as viewed from above, for the Bushman makes this sacrifice of actual appearance to lucidity of statement—that he represents the figures as spread out over the ground, and not as seen one behind the other."

In the art as a whole therefore we find a definite attempt to portray objects and scenes as they actually appear at the moment, and not as what they may be conceived as ideally. The aspects selected are always represented faithfully, and the pictures in general emphasize the unity of the representations rather than their details. Conventionalization in any shape is rare, and possibly the only departure from realism is in the case of human beings, where there is the tendency to impressionism.

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KNOWLEDGE OF DISEASE AND DOCTORING

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that
[114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by
[276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as
[177] measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When
[648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into
000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 139; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140-1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29-30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 91; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983-6 *passim*.

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Treatment

is administered by relatives or friends, or in cases of acute and prolonged illness by a magician well versed in medical practices, who is paid for his services. 755 In cases of the latter kind a very common method employed is massage, leading up to the extraction of foreign bodies (" disease-poisons ", " spirits of disease ", etc.) believed to have been introduced into the patient and thus causing his illness. When the " doctor " feels that the foreign body has been brought near enough to the surface by his treatment, he sucks the part affected and then, with a retching sound, triumphantly spits out the object he is supposed to have sucked from the patient's body. Stones, pieces of bark, small bones, etc., are thus extracted from the affected part of the patient, who in consequence is cured ![1] Lebzelter records also that, while the " doctor " is busy performing this cure, the relatives and friends standing round pray to the " supreme being " to make [782] the patient well again ; and, as we have seen, the use of prayers in case of severe illness is mentioned by several other writers as well.[2]

More practical forms of treatment are also found, however.[3] Herbs and roots of various kinds are extensively employed as medicines. 757 278 Sometimes they are burned to ashes which are then rubbed into small cuts made in the patient's body, sometimes they are boiled and given as a decoction. How far they actually do have curative effects is difficult to say, as no special study appears to have been made of their pharmacological properties, nor, save in a few instances, have they even been identified. But Dornan mentions that " for blackwater they use a plant called qilika (*Anacoampseros rhodesica*) by the Matabele ; [824] dysentery *Monsonia ovata*, and *Euclea lanceolata* ; for various other diseases, *Cannabis sativa*, *Solanum nigrum*, *Lippia asperifolia* (malaria), *Crotalaria burkeana*, *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Datura stramonium*, *Indigofera senegalensis*, and *Bauhinea reticulata* ".[4] Burns, open 752 sores, headaches, etc., are treated by rubbing medicated ointments on the part affected. Chapman describes another method of treatment undergone by himself. " Having a frightful headache from the heat of the sun, I resort to my usual Bushman remedy, at the expense of having my forehead ornamented with blisters dotted all over it the next morning. April [his Bushman guide] has a root

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[1] A good eyewitness account of this treatment is given by Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 340–1; cf. also D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29. [114]

[2] " Religiöse Vorstellungen usw.," 411; cf. pp. 183 sq. above.

[3] Nuhn, " Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama und Buschmänner," *D. Kol-Ztg.*, 1886, p. 629 sq.; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 179, 282–3; ii, 74, 182; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Dornan, loc. cit.; Vedder, " Grammatik der ǃKũ-Buschmannsprache," 8–9; Fourie, loc. cit.

[4] Op. cit., 142.

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752 which he puts into the fire, and brands me all over the forehead, heating it again and again. It is the heat of the fire that gives the relief, not the root, nor any of his genuflexions over me."[1] Surgical practice seems to be limited to incisions made in the skin, but Vedder notes that cupping is also employed among the Kung. Incisions are made in the patient's skin and covered with the horn of an animal, through which the blood is then sucked out.[2]

The existence of specific antidotes for arrow poisoning is reported 278 by several of the older writers, but their statements lack confirmation. 752 The effects of such a wound, as far as can be ascertained, are almost [114] invariably fatal.[3] The Naron also have no antidote for snake poison, the effects of which they try to counteract by tying the snake skin round the bite. Kaufmann, however, records that among the Auen the magician makes out of the black mamba, which he alone may eat, an antidote supposed to act against all snake bites except that of the mamba itself. He dries and powders the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poison in the fangs, and mixes this powder with the fat of the snake. The salve thus made is rubbed into the wound, which is first sucked out. At the same time several deep cuts are made [illegible] the upper arm, from which blood is allowed to stream freely.[4] There is nothing [114] in Kaufmann's account to indicate whether this information is based on personal observation or merely upon hearsay, so that it must be received with caution. Chapman, a careful observer whose hunting expeditions brought him into frequent close contact with the Bushmen in the North-West Kalahari, describes another form of antidote with which he himself saw the Bushmen cure themselves of snake bite. This is a creeping tendrilous plant, called "eokam" by the Bushmen, but unfortunately not identified by him. About eight or ten of its seeds, either eaten or taken as a decoction, act as an emetic. The dose is repeated about three times, when the patient is cured. "They also tattoo and scarify their bodies, and make an incision near the wound, which they suck with some of the root, chewed, in their mouths. This is evidently to prevent the poison acting upon the gums in case of bleeding. The sucking out of the poison is not necessary, but is done by way of precaution. Bushmen having a bit of this root on their necks laugh at snake-bites."[5]

751 Other writers mention that "doctors" sometimes render themselves

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[1] Op. cit., ii, 182.
[2] Loc. cit.
[3] The question is discussed by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," 212-13.
[4] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19; Kaufmann, op. cit., 139.
[5] Op. cit., ii, 74.

immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these 751
animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is
rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the
poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses.
Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor [114]
claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed
them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—
hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung
the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large
drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely,
but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained
that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would
hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most
sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the
poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after
our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the
slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that
there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The [756]
inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship
of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main
authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but
I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and
Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity.
Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond
ascertaining the means of immunization.

KNOWLEDGE OF TIMES AND SEASONS

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly 805
of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and
weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of
the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the [221]
seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the [182]
movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bush-
man life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. [132]
The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek
and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, [184]
and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

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[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.

[2] Op. cit., 391–4.

184 805 The Naron have three seasons: spring, when the birds mate and the first flowers come, from about August to October; summer, when it is hot and the rain falls, or is expected, from November to March; and winter, or the cold time, from April to July. The |O Kung also have three seasons: the cold dry time from about April to September, the first rains from then to about November, and the real rainy season from about December to March or April. The Auen, Kung, and Heikum, on the other hand, distinguish four seasons: the cold dry season (winter), the small or first rainy season (early spring), the hot, dry season (spring and early summer), and the big or second rainy season (late summer). When all the seasons have passed, a year is finished; but there is no clear conception of the year as a period of time, nor do they reckon in years. Mothers can tell in which season their babies were born, and for three or four years know how many seasons ago it was, but after that they get confused. Hence, for instance, no person knows his positive age, although his comparative age as regards the other members of the family is always well established.[1]

184 805 821 The Naron observe the sun sufficiently to know that it makes a shorter path in winter than in summer, but apparently the stars foretell the coming of the seasons better. When the Pleiades rise just before dawn, the cold is due; when they come before midnight, spring is at hand. Besides the Pleiades the Naron also have names for the Southern Cross, Orion, the Milky Way, and the Great Bear, which is just visible at Sandfontein; and they know when each constellation will rise and set in the different seasons.[2]

184 821 The other North-Western Bushmen apparently take no special interest in the stars. The |O Kung, for instance, as we have seen, speak of all the stars as *//gaua*'s fires, and have no separate names for any of them; and the same seems to be true of the Kung and Heikum. The Cape Bushmen, on the other hand, were close observers of the movements of the stars and constellations, and had names for a great many of them. Thus Archernar is the "Star-digging-stick's stone" or the "Digging-stick's stone of Canopus", while Canopus itself is the "Bushman's rice star"; the Pointers to the Southern Cross are male lions; α, β, and γ Crucis are lionesses; Aldebaran is a male hartebeest, and Orion is a female hartebeest; Procyon a male

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Comparative Vocabularies*, passim; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 110; *idem*, *Naron*, 39; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 160; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 99.

[2] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.

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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; 184
Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three 821
female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is
a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable 184
part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek 773
and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once 821
having been men or animals before being transformed into their
present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of
the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light,
so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore
threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way.
In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty
seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of
branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became
stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona
Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, 184
also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or 821
prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one
mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe
star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but 805
they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the
year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, [821]
but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding
to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks [177]
when working for white people, and will come regularly on the
seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with [648]
white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the
New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the
sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts
of the day.

804
The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there 805
are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it 823

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[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.

[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.

[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.

[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

804 takes to reach the place. If, for instance, a Bushman is asked how far a
805 certain waterhole is, he points to the part of the sky which the sun
823 will have reached by the time one gets to that waterhole; or, if it is far, he says: "One night on the way," or "two", etc.; or, again, if asked the length of a journey, he will name the places at which he slept or will sleep, touching a finger to his lips for each, then hold up the fingers, saying: "So many nights" (not days).[1]

In counting, they use only the numerals one and two quite
802 freely. Three they sometimes use, taking the Nama word for it,
177 although they are more apt to speak of "two and one" than "three". For anything above three they generally make use of the word "many", although by the Northern Bushmen Nama or Bantu numerals may sometimes by substituted. These higher numerals, however, are evidently picked up from their neighbours by ear, and repeated without much consideration of their value, as, says Miss Bleek, a child of three will count in imitation of its seniors, varying the sequence of numerals each time. In some cases, among both the Cape
802 Bushmen and several of the North-Western tribes, such formations
[803] are also found as $4 = 2 + 2$, $5 = 2 + 2 + 1$, and so on up to ten. The numeral system of the Bushmen is thus essentially binary in principle. Occasionally, however, modifications occur suggestive of a quinary system. Thus in Naron the words for "four" mean "two fingers and two fingers", but "five" is "hand" (sometimes, however $2 + 2 + 1$ fingers), "ten" is "both hands", "fifteen" "both hands, one foot"; and the same system occurs in Auen. As these words indicate, the Bushmen count larger numbers on their fingers. In counting, they begin with the little finger of the left hand, touching each finger in turn on the lips, then continue in the same manner from the thumb of the right hand. As a rule, it may be added, nothing that they want to count exceeds ten, indeed, hardly ever reaches that numeral![2]

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 38; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

[2] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; cf. Schmidl, "Zahl und Zählen in Afrika," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xlv (1915), pp. 194–5, for a useful summary sketch of Bushman numeral systems.

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PART III

CULTURE OF THE HOTTENTOTS

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CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

114 THE only Hottentot people whose social organization is at all well known are the Naman of South-West Africa, of whom a special study from this point of view has been made by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. The valuable description given by her[1] is supplemented in several respects by the observations of other writers,[2] so that it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the social structure of this division. The original organization of the other Hottentot peoples has long since been totally obliterated, and the information bearing upon it is too fragmentary to provide much material for discussion. As far as can be gathered, however, they appear to have had essentially the same system of social grouping as the Naman.

178 In the case of the latter also the old tribal system has been almost wholly destroyed. At the present time some of their tribes are already extinct, i.e. the tribal unity has been completely broken down, although one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one particular tribe or another. Most of the Naman, in fact, are now scattered all over South-West Africa in the service of Europeans, and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes. But even where a small remnant of the people still hold together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as headman or chief, much of the old system of grouping has ceased to exist. The following analysis, therefore, relates very largely to conditions of the past.

THE TRIBE

162
619 The nomadic pastoral life of the Naman and the unsuitable climatic conditions under which they dwell have resulted in their distribution over the country in small scattered communities. Although it appears from the traditions of the people that they all originally belonged to

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[1] "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24. Except where otherwise stated, this is the principal authority for the facts recorded below.

[2] Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23 ff.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. verg. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in Steinmetz's *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern*, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," *Z. Kol-Pol.*, xi (1909), 657–86.

162 the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a
619 number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Naman,
or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within
historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two
later offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the
Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each
[197] of these groups, *!haus*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has
its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with
slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of
[173] Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to
tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes
have all sprung.

619 The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua,
appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with
the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names
by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein*
or *Groot Doode* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldskoendragers*,
are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people
(Dutch *veldskoen*, Nama *//habob* or *//hawob*); while the *ǂAunin*, or
Topnaars, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that
they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the
[262] Naman. The name *!Naranin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes
known, is derived from the *!naras* melon, so outstanding an article
in their diet.

[173] In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from
the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauan*
from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as
having any special meaning. There were two branches of these
people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch
(*/hei*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauan* and */Hei //Khauan.* The
Witboois, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howesen*,
from */howe* or */hobe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch
names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of
the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders,
Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooi.

619 Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one
173 line of ancestors, the *Gei //Khauan*, *!Gami ǂNun*, *//Haboben*, *!Khara
Gei Khoin* and *//Khau /Goan* each having been founded by one of five
brothers, while the *//O Gein* and *ǂAunin* are later offshoots from the

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[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4-7.

Gei ||Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five 619
brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe
among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, 173
the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another;
although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei ||Khauan* received
an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an
acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools 619
in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man 643
the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any 423
clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were
always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to 312
wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their
cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a
prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that
any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask
permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number 619
of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple
of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to 161
the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of
the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions
were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative
size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered
approximately 2,500, the ǂAunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau
/Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami ǂNun
2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witboois 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000,
Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923,
however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei//Khauan numbered
only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the
Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans,
were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

THE CLAN

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (*!hau* 618
/nati, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to 643
be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

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[1] *Tsuni-||Goam*, 97.

[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, p. 94, quoted by Hoernlé, op. cit., 7.

[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 9–16; Olpp, op. cit., 23; Kohler, op. cit., 338–9.

618 [643] the chieftainship of the whole tribe was hereditary in this senior clan, and inherited in the male line from father to son. In the case of the //Khau /Goan (Swartbooi) tribe the names of ten clans have been preserved, in the case of the Gei //Khauan (Rooi Natie) of fifteen, and in that of the /Hobesen (Witboois) of seven. It appears from the clan names of the Gei //Khauan that there must formerly have been several more clans in this tribe, so that on the whole the size of a clan cannot have been considerable. No actual figures are available, however.

618 173 Each clan named itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. In some cases tribal traditions have been preserved in which the various clans in the tribe are shown to have been related to one another in the past. The legend of the Swartboois, for instance, is that they separated from the Rooi Natie under the leadership of the */Garin* family, and that the three brothers of this family became the ancestors of the three chief clans of the tribe—the */Gari Gein* or big */Garin*, the */Gari !Nagaman* or "next" */Garin*, and the */Gari ǂKarin* or little */Garin*, these names being those of the three brothers respectively.[1] When the tribe was first formed the chieftainship was vested in the */Gari Gein* clan, but it has now passed to the second clan, the */Gari !Nagaman*, as the senior clan has become almost extinct, being represented to-day by only two or three people. Two of the other clans in this tribe are formed by people who were incorporated from the //O Gein tribe after the latter had broken up; and a similar instance where members of a different tribe were absorbed is found in the case of the ǂAunin living at Walvis Bay, who completely defeated another Nama people known as the */Namaxin* and incorporated its remnant into their own clans. It would appear, therefore, that the different clans now found in a tribe are by no means always related, and even where they do claim a common descent it is no longer possible to trace this relationship genealogically.

618 551 The various family groups which go together to form a clan are also called *!hau !nati*. These family groups to-day have Dutch, or, at any rate, European surnames. Some of the clans have only one

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[551] [1] It is the Hottentot custom for all the sons of a woman to be called by her "great name" (*gei khoi /ons*), while all the daughters are similarly called by the *gei khoi /ons* of their father. Hence all the sons of a woman named */Garis* will be called */Garib*, and all the daughters of a man named *//Khauab* will be called *//Khauas*. They are distinguished from one another by the use of special adjectives, the eldest son being called the big one, *geib*, hence */Gari geib*, the second the next one, *!nagamab*, hence */Gari !nagamab*, the third the dark one, *ǂnub*, or the light one, */heib*, or the tall one, *gaxub*, and so on, while the youngest will be called the young one, *ǂami*, or the little one, *ǂkarib*, hence */Gari ǂkarib*. The same distinctions are made in the case of the daughters.

family surname. That of the */Gari !Nagaman*, for example, is 618
Swartbooi, and that of the *!Neisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi 551
clans, is Beukes. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g.
those of the *!Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze,
Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now
be traced between the different family groups bearing these names.
Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood
relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and [582
observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so 611]
that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged
to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and
regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan
seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record
of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with
the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism
among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live
together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong
measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his [628]
fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last
century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even
between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable
to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other,
or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. 618
Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting 643
its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger
than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus* 554
inter pares. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, 622
and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect;
but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not
do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs
in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartboois as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé 618
shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed 619
among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often
have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude 593
members of other families or clans. In course of time they would 643
become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the
part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves
independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

618 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants
619 of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form
593 clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually
643 develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous
618 to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were
scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting
619 of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members
of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a
great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in
417 which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south.
231 Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the
618 people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief
and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up,
but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still main-
592 tained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be
found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

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[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 195–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

also grouped to the left of the man's hut, chief of whom are the *!gan* or servants. 361 592

The huts themselves (*omi*) are much superior to those of the Bushmen, and well adapted to the nomadic life of the people (Plate XIV).[1] They provide an airy shelter from the wind and the sun, are light in weight, simple in material and structure, and can easily be taken down, packed up, transported, and rebuilt. The skeleton is a frame of long light pieces of supple undressed wood. Twenty to sixty of these, according to the size of the hut, are planted vertically in holes dug into the ground in a circle of three to five yards diameter. Their upper ends are then bent inward and tied together in the centre, until the framework is complete. The whole frame thus approximates to a hemisphere, varying in height but averaging about two and a half yards. Its erection is the work of the men. Withes are now twisted round the structure, and fastened on outside. Over these are tied layers of rush mats constructed by the women from reed grass, usually *Cyperus sp.* The stalks of reed are bored through and sewn together with bark thread. The finished mats are then laid round and directly over the wooden framework. Long mats are placed edgewise on the ground and tied to the sticks, other mats are placed higher up and tied in a similar manner, and one or two additional mats form the roofing. The hut when complete is of beehive shape. It is cool in the summer, when the rushes contract in the heat and allow the air to play freely through the hut; perfectly dry in the rain, when the rushes swell and grip closely to one another; while a lining of prepared skins makes it snug and warm in the winter. When the camp is shifted, the structure is taken down; the mats are rolled up and the sticks are tied into bundles. They are then transported to the site of the next encampment on the backs of oxen, some of which are specially trained to carry packs, and are there again put together. 342 [462] [492]

The main entrance to the hut is usually opposed to the direction of the prevailing wind, and on the other side is left a smaller opening. The main opening can be closed by means of a piece of rush matting just fitting into it, and attached to a cross-pole situated about three feet from the ground. This mat door can be rolled up and fastened or let down. The position of the opening is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the

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[1] By far the most complete description of the Hottentot hut is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 227–32; cf. also Kolb, op. cit., 106–8; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 208–10; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306–7.

ATE XIV

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415
231
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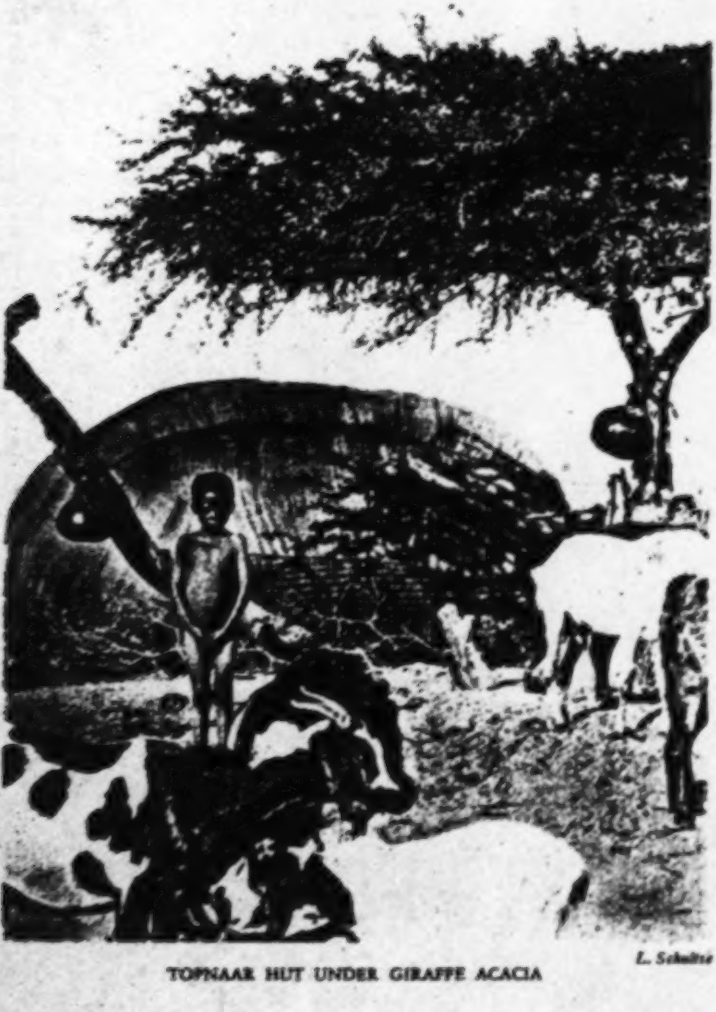
137



L. Schultze

TOPNAAR HUT UNDER GIRAFFE ACACIA

f. 230

[face p. 230

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with
skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and
[354 round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep.
513] To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with
a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of
household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their
595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a
hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not
general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to
remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by
[594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus
comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the
Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was
not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom
found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her
children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife.
591 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage
the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband
may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning
with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but
in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain
altogether with her own people, the husband joining them
permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in
moving with them in search of water and grass will often act
[361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for
social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although
in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have
been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together,
it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social
life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

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[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wandres, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 222 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schultze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

601 may be expected from the fact that they have a clan organization, is of the type customarily known as "classificatory", i.e. terms of relationship are applied by a man not only to the members of his own family, but also, according to certain rules, to classes of people who stand in a definite relation to his parents; and behind this linguistic usage there is almost always a set of mutual obligations between the man and all those to whom he applies these terms.

The primary terms of relationship are naturally those of the immediate family circle. Children address their parents directly by the term *ĩi* (com. sing.), the feminine form *ĩs* or *éis* being applied to the mother, the masculine form *ĩp* or *éip* to the father. When speaking of their parents, but never in direct address, they use the term *//gũn* (from *//gā̃*, to be fertile)—*//gũb* (masc. sing.) for the father, *//gũs* (fem. sing.) for the mother. A more familiar term for father is *tatab*, and for mother *mamas*. Parents, again, speak to or of their children by the term */gôan* or *ôan* (from */oa*, to bear). A son is *ôab* or */gôab*, a daughter *ôas* or */gôas*. Brothers and sisters use for each other the term */gũn*; and here the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person or persons spoken to or of are carefully distinguished. An older brother is *!gāb geib* (big brother), an older sister *!gās geis*; a younger brother is *!gāb ‡kami* (young brother) or *!gāsab*, and a younger sister *!gās ‡kams* or *!gāsas*.

The application of these terms is also extended to more distant relatives. Thus *mamas* ("mother") is applied also to the mother's sisters, those older than the mother being called *mama geis*, those younger *mama ‡kams* or *mamaros* (dimin.). In the same way *tatab* ("father") is also applied to the father's brothers, again with the proper modifications for relative age. The term *mamas* is further applied to the wives of the father's brothers, and the term *tatab* to the husbands of the mother's sisters, and to the sons of the father's father's brothers. The children of all these people are called by the same term */gũn* used for own brother or sister, with the proper modifications for sex and relative age. Finally, the term *ôan* or */gôan* ("child") is applied by a man also to the children of his brother (i.e. to those who call him *tatab*, "father"), and similarly by a woman also to the children of her sister.

On the other hand, certain other kinds of relatives are called by new and distinctive terms not used within the immediate family circle. For all persons, male and female, of all generations above those of father and mother, one term is used, *//nâos* ("the tip of an arrow", so that it refers, as it were, to the beginning of the family). The form *//nâob* (masc. sing.) is used for men—father's father, mother's father, their brothers, fathers, and father's fathers; the form *//nâos* (fem. sing.) for women—father's mother, mother's mother, their sisters, and the father's father's sisters. Conversely the children of any person called */gũan* are spoken of as *//nárin* (masc., *//nárib*; fem., *//náris*). This term is therefore the reciprocal for *//nâon*.

The father's sister is nowadays called *magis* (from the Dutch "moekie", little mother), but the old term was *ũis geis*, "big mother," or *tāras*, or *gei tāras*, "the great respected one." Her husband is now called *omeb* (from Dutch "oom", uncle), also, through courtesy, *tasab*; there does not appear to be a distinctive term for him. The father's sister, again, has no special term for her brother's children, but uses a descriptive term—*/gãb ũan* (brother's child) or *tārap ũan*, with the proper modifications according to the sex of the person concerned. Occasionally, however, she will refer to her brother's son as */ũip*, a term used for relatives-in-law generally.

The mother's brother is nowadays also called *omeb*, but formerly was *//nâob* or *//nâosab*; and his wife is now *magis*, formerly *//nâos*. He in turn applies to his sister's children the term *//nárin*. This term, which as we have already seen is also the term for grandchildren, is further applied to cross-cousins, *i.e.* to the children of one's mother's brother and father's sister—the masc. form *//nárib* to the sons, the fem. form *//náris* to the daughters. Sometimes, however, a man will address the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister by the term *sarás*, "wife,"[1] and conversely a woman will address the son of her mother's brother or her father's sister by the term *aob*, "husband."

The term *aob* is also applied by a woman, not only to her husband, but also to his brother, and to the husband of her sister; while the term *sarás* is further applied by a man to his brother's wife, and to his wife's sisters, as well as to his own wife. The general term for relatives-in-law, however, is */ain* or */nã khoin* (from the verbs */ãi* and */na*, to become related by marriage). Thus a man applies the term */ũip* (masc.) to his wife's father, wife's brother, sister's husband, and daughter's husband, while a woman applies it to her husband's father and to her brother's son. The term */ũis* (fem.), again, is applied by a man to his wife's mother and to his son's wife, and by a woman to her husband's mother, husbands sister, brother's wife, and son's wife. Finally, the husbands of two sisters call each other *Igámireb* or *Igámeb*, while the wives of two brothers call each other *Igámas*. 601

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[1] This word *sarás* is to be carefully distinguished from *tāras* used for father's sister, etc., from which it differs in pronunciation.

These linguistic usages are in many cases correlated with specific rules and observances regulating the conduct with regard to one another of a person, and all those to whom he applies any term of relationship, the nature of these rules and observances varying according to the nature of the relationship. To take only some of the more immediately striking instances, we find that the use of the term *gei táras*, "great respected one," for the father's sister is correlated with the fact that great deference is due to a woman on the part of her brother's children. The occasional use of the terms *aob*, "husband," and *tarás*, "wife," between cross-cousins of opposite sexes implies that marriage is permissible between them, and this is actually found to be the case; while, on the other hand, the use of the term *!gâs*, brother or sister, between ortho-cousins rules out the idea of marriage and implies a type of behaviour between them different from that between cross-cousins. The careful manner, again, in which these kinship terms distinguish the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person referred to reflects the extreme regard for age running right through the social life of the Hottentots. The type of behaviour expected of one person towards another is thus often directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them. The *terms of relationship*, in other words, also often express *actual social relationships*. These play a great part in the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people, and will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter, when the social life of the Hottentots is considered. [561]

Family Servants

The families of the more wealthy Naman frequently have attached to them a few people in the capacity of servants or dependents.[1] These servants are mostly Bergdama, a people of negro stock which has long been in subjection to the Naman, but sometimes also include Bushmen, Ovaherero, or even impoverished Naman. Many of them were taken or picked up in the old days as small children, after 592 357

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[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 77; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 304; Fritsch, op. cit., 364; Olpp, op. cit., 24; Kohler, op. cit., 340-1; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 681; idem, "Ueber Rechtsanschauungen . . . der Naman," 278.

592 357 one of the numerous wars between the native peoples of South-West Africa when families were scattered and children left helpless on the veld. They were then brought up in the family of their rescuer, performing various menial services, and in general considering themselves part of the family. Here and there such people still offer their services voluntarily in return for their subsistence, or are saved through pity from starvation and adopted.

They are to be regarded as servants or dependents rather than as slaves. Often, no doubt, they are harshly treated, but they are never bought or sold, and are free to marry as they will, although they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. The men are entrusted with the care of the flocks, or accompany their masters on the hunt and in the old days also to war, and in general must be ready for any kind of service. The women attend to domestic matters, clean the hut, fetch the wood and water, maintain the fire, and so on, and also milk the cattle, when the mistress or daughter of the house does not herself do so.

463 465 These family servants, */gas*, are to be distinguished from the */gaisan*, or herdsmen, who hire themselves to a person for an arranged payment, which they receive, in the form of young lambs, at the time of the lambing season. The time of service is generally not specified, and usually they remain with their employer for life, although they [357] cannot be kept from departing when they wish. Their children are free, but usually also remain as servants in the same family.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

MODE OF LIFE AND SUBSISTENCE

Daily Routine

THE Hottentots in their independent condition derived their food 262
supply from their cattle, sheep, and goats, from the game which they hunted, and from the smaller animals and wild plants gathered in the veld. In recent years most of them have lost their cattle, partly 231
through purchase by other peoples, partly as a result of the wars through which they have passed; and in some cases they have taken 241
to living round mission stations, where they practise agriculture in a small way by growing wheat, millet, maize, pumpkins, beans, and similar crops.

None of the independent Hottentots, however, ever cultivated the soil. They were dependent in the first place upon their herds 233
and flocks for their well-being. Their life in consequence was nomadic.[1] 361
They were always compelled to seek out pasture lands where they could find grass for their animals and water sufficient for their own wants and those of their herds. They therefore moved up and down the country in certain definite areas, following the grass and the water. Grass as a rule was more easily found than water, hence we see the different tribes laying stress upon the possession of waterholes, and otherwise taking little care to define their boundaries more closely. Their main encampments were situated along river banks or in the neighbourhood of springs and deep pools, and always in parts where grass grew most abundantly.

Even to-day the more independent Nama families still lead a nomadic pastoral life. As long as there is sufficient water and grass, a number of separate families may camp together; but when the available supply does not suffice, the people prefer to scatter, and wander away in smaller groups. In normal years their wanderings in their pasture grounds are regulated for time and direction by the experience acquired in the course of many years. In dry years movement is more urgent and necessary, and more families than

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[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 213-4; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 208; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 14.

233 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence
361 as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes
have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually
unrestricted.

233 The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle
361 or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried
meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down
484 their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which
492 are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen
bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden
[415] by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan
sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock
slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and
the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore
break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle
are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and
hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women
[222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise
matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the
new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and
grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate
spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again.
Their encampments are never permanent.

462 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds
and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members
512 of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time
517 in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed
by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps
occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils,
or else in chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating
among them. The women go out seeking veldkos,[1] or busy them-
selves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and
the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat
512 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the
517 herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps,
there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music
help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food
prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires
to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal
adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

[1] [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. — Analyst]

matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful 512
competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games 517
of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people 262
then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm 234
from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance,
such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and 824
spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus
produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is [415]
kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Portulaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this ✓
rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is 262
scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men
go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the 224
bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom [221]
slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions,
when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food 224
formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

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[1] The fullest account of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, [illegible]–206; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96 sqq.; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 319–[illegible]; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, [illegible].

224 plays a far less prominent part in the subsistence of the people than it did in the old days, but it is still used as a means of obtaining food whenever possible.

252 There is hardly a single portion of the animal not eaten. Even
262 the skin, when not required for other purposes, is roasted in the
fire, so that the hair may burn away, and is then cut into strips, which
are beaten soft with stones and cooked in water, or preferably milk.
[415] All meat is as a rule prepared; sometimes it is cooked in water in
wooden (formerly clay) pots, sometimes roasted on spits over the
[372] fire, or it may be baked in hot ashes. Fire was formerly made by
friction, by the same drilling method as used by the Bushmen;
nowadays matches or the tinder-box are generally employed. When
[251] not eaten immediately, or when plenty of game has been caught and
not all of it can be taken home, the meat is cut into thin strips, which
are salted and dried in the air. In this condition it will last for a
considerable time, and can also be eaten raw; indeed, the Boer method
of making "biltong" is probably derived from this old Hottentot
practice. Meat broth is not specially esteemed, but the fat of the
animal, either raw or as dripping, is highly appreciated, and is sometimes drunk warm as a separate dish.

262 In addition to the game obtained by hunting, all sorts of smaller animals are eaten in case of necessity. There is hardly any form of animal life which does not provide food for impoverished Hottentots. Hares, rock rabbits, birds of all kinds, porcupines, tortoises, mice, lizards, even insects such as caterpillars, beetles, locusts, termites, and other ants all help to keep off starvation, while on the sea-coast the people eat the meat of seals and penguins, as well as penguin eggs, seagulls, mussels, and snails. Fish are also caught wherever possible, and as in the case of the coastal Hottentots and those living along the Orange and Great Fish Rivers in South-West Africa often form an important part of the menu.

222 Vegetable food is obtained from plants growing wild in the veld.
252 Of these a great variety are eaten. Some are taken raw, others
262 baked in ashes, others again are beaten to pulp, then dried in the sun
and brewed with milk. For example, "uintjies" (*Cyperus sp.*) are usually baked in hot ashes; the leaves of *Mesembrianthemum edule* are fried in butter; the seeds of *Bauhinea burkeana* are also baked, while its roots are often eaten raw. Ant-heaps are broken open, their stores ransacked, and large quantities of grass seed carried off to be boiled in milk, making a very agreeable dish. Fruits such as

the *!naras* and *tsama* are preferred most of all, on account of both 222
the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The 252
Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable 262
part of the year almost exclusively on the *!naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of *!Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game 264
is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the [262]
possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything
else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything 574
to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning 264
meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *sobos*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by
a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task [462]
of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the
members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, [184]
men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all
the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes [841
at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be 783]
menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among 262
the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated 761
instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

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[1] Op. cit., 102–3.

Cape Hottentots

262 [761] and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites.[1] This taboo was apparently associated with the myth connecting the hare with the origin of death, which we have already met with among the Bushmen also. Even this restriction, however, seems now to have lapsed. The older writers on the Cape Hottentots mention several other food restrictions in addition to that on the hare. Thus, according to Graevenbroeck, wild pigs, hyenas, lions, and other carnivorous animals were regarded as impure and not fit to be eaten. It was also "deemed unlawful" to taste butter and eggs, while only children were permitted to nourish themselves upon sheep's milk, which was looked upon as dangerous to adults.[2] Kolb, again, states that pig's flesh and fish without scales were forbidden by custom to both sexes; that the men only might not eat the hare or the rock rabbit, or drink the milk of sheep, while the women, on the other hand, were forbidden the "pure blood of beasts" and the flesh of the mole.[3] Thunberg, again, says that the men never drank milk that had been drawn by women[4]—a statement which may be compared with Albrecht's report that many orthodox Naman believe their cows will give no milk if the women were to drink cows' milk, since this is "good only for the men", hence the women must content themselves with the milk of the sheep and goats.[5] It is questionable how far these statements can be accepted as entirely accurate, but they seem at least to suggest that there must have been some special regulations regarding the drinking of milk. Unfortunately there is no other information at all to throw further light upon this important point. Finally, even at the present time, according to Vedder, "a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyena, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing."[6]

276 824 272 As narcotics the Hottentots formerly used infusions of various legumes and herbs. Even to-day the capsules of *Ecladium virgatum E. Mey.* and the seeds of *Acacia hebeclada D.C.* are still roasted, ground down, and brewed with water. But increasing familiarity with the tea and especially the coffee introduced by the Europeans

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[1] Cf. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, 328–9; Wikar, "Berigt aan . . . Plettenberg," 118–19; Olpp, "Aus den Sagenschatz der Khoi-Khoin," 46–7.

[2] "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 364.

[3] Op. cit., 96–7.

[4] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.

[5] "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 205.

[6] "The Nama," 129.

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as caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except 272
erhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a
ind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water,
nd then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. [824]
Pachypodium namaquensis, so as to produce fermentation. European 273
lcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst
hem now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially
mong the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots 276
oon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by
he Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost
ndispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even
he children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more
enerally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of [324]
erpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped
omewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with
rass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed;
nd in company the pipe is passed round from person to person,
ach taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his
ungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[2] was formerly
lso used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb,
he smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment
o some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain,
or owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive
uantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Govern-
nent. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes [171]
imilar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

SEXUAL LIFE AND MARRIAGE

xtra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated 836
s it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently [837]
reat freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised
fter marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely con-
emned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had
one wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent,
the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment.
hese beatings were administered under the direction of the head

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104–5; Albrecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[2] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-toxic herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. ovata. — Analyst]

836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [864] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] 848 Should pregnancy follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 835 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or even the children of brothers and sisters ("Geschwister") is punished by death.[4]

572 838 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

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[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.

[2] Op. cit., 309.

[3] Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144, 145.

[582] [173] [4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: "The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 135).

[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.

[6] "Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xiii (1925–6), 209–10.

practice whereby two individuals, either of the same or of opposite 838
sex, will enter into a specially intimate bond of association, *soregus*, 572
with each other. This is initiated by one of the parties drinking from a bowl of water (or nowadays often coffee), and then handing the rest of the liquid to the other to drink, with the words: *sore-//gamsa ure*, take the *sore* water, or *sore-//gamsa are*, drink the *sore* water. As a rule the relationship thus entered upon primarily implies deep friendship and mutual assistance, especially in economic matters. But, according to Falk, it is also used as a means of establishing a homosexual relationship, especially by boys, who jealously watch over each other. The customary form of homosexual practice 838
is mutual masturbation, among both men and women (*oa !huru* or 839
simply *!huru* in the case of men, */goe-ugu* in the case of women); pedication (coitus in anum) between men, and the use of an artificial penis between women, are also found, but more rarely. Falk mentions also three cases known to him of men who were confirmed sexual inverts. Unfortunately he gives no concrete data as to the public attitude either towards such men or towards homosexuality in general, but as far as can be gathered from his short account, homosexual practices are regarded somewhat as a matter of custom. How far this is the correct view cannot be determined, as no other writer gives any positive information on the subject.

Solitary masturbation (*gui-guisen*, to make oneself stiff) is also 839
found; and, according to Fritsch, it is so frequent among girls as almost to deserve the name of a national custom ("Landessitte"). No special secret is made of it, he says, and the people even speak of it in tales and legends as if it were quite an ordinary occurrence.[1] He [147]
goes so far as to venture the suggestion, often advanced also by other writers, that the elongation of the labia minora found in many Hottentot women may be due to this practice,[2] but, as we have already seen, there is little doubt that this hypertrophy is a purely physiological condition.

Wandres mentions also that occasional cases of bestiality are 839
found, which, if they come to the notice of the tribal council, result 684
in "exemplary punishment".[3] He does not specify the nature of this punishment, nor does he give any instances known to him of such abnormal practices.

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[1] *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 351; cf. Falk, op. cit., 211.
[2] Op. cit., 283.
[3] Loc. cit.

Marriage

582 Normally a girl is not regarded as marriageable until she has reached the age of puberty and passed through the puberty ceremonies, nor was a boy in the old days permitted to marry before he had been initiated into the ranks of the adult men (a custom now fallen into abeyance). Marriage, as we have seen, might not take place between members of the same clan, nor was a man supposed to marry a woman of the same " great name " (*gei khoi |ons*) as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded as a mother, if much older, or as a daughter, if younger, than himself. Nowadays this prohibition has ceased to be observed; and we also find that marriage with any first cousin is permitted, even with direct cousins, although on the other hand, says Mrs. Hoernlé, the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross-cousins. Marriage with the latter was formerly permitted, both with the father's sister's daughter and with the mother's brother's daughter, although in some of the Nama tribes (e.g. *||Haboben, Gei ||Khauan, ||Khau |Goan*) marriage with the latter kind of cross-cousin is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the former kind. It does not seem, however, that marriage with the cross-cousins was specially enjoined. Marriage with the direct (ortho-) cousins, on the other hand, was strictly prohibited.[1]

There is no single account of Hottentot marriage customs which can be regarded as exhaustive. The following description, pieced together as it is from the more or less incomplete accounts of a number of different observers, must therefore be looked upon only as approximately correct, although the details cited are all vouched for by reliable witnesses.[2]

584 As a rule there is free choice with regard to marriage, subject, of course, to the restrictions just indicated. The initiative usually lies in the hands of the boy. When he has found a suitable girl, he seeks to obtain her formal consent. He will hand her a little stick; if she takes this, breaks it in two, and throws one of the pieces at his breast, it is a sign that she is willing to marry him. The two now enter into a state of betrothal, which imposes upon them various

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[1] "Social Organization of the Nama," 21.

[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 322; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214, Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 26 sq.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–5; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 318–19; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 297–9; Vedder, "The Nama," 134–5.

mutual avoidances. They are not supposed to meet or speak to each other, and may communicate only through an intermediary. This period of betrothal may be of considerable duration, and it is often several months or even a year and more before the marriage actually takes place. In the meantime the necessary negotiations will be going on between their parents, the boy's people taking the lead. After the young couple have come to an understanding, two or three old women from the boy's family go to the mother of the girl, and ask for her consent. This by custom she is required to withhold. After some time, during which the boy will occasionally bring small gifts to his future parents-in-law, the proposal is renewed, the girl's father also being approached this time. Finally, after a more or less prolonged show of reluctance on the part of the girl's parents, their consent is at last obtained, and the day for the marriage ceremony fixed. 584

In connection with this custom of wooing, reference must be made here to the employment of love magic among the Naman. A man wishing to win the favour of a girl will pound up a certain charm known as *duba* (a white substance the size of a fowl's egg, generally found in ant-heaps), and mix it with tobacco, which he then puts into a pipe. If the girl smokes this mixture, she will fall in love with the man who offered her the pipe.[1] Or he will secretly smear the mouthpiece of a pipe with some of the contents of a medicine horn, smoke the pipe, and then pass it on to the girl whose love he wishes to arouse.[2] 832

On the other hand, magical means are also employed to separate lovers. Of these one of the most effective is found in the legs of the locust. A girl who is to be alienated from her lover is asked, as often happens in the normal course of daily life, to grind to powder a heap of dried *buchu* roots—but among the roots a locust leg has been secreted. When the girl, having finished her task, rubs her *buchu*-stained hands in her arm-pits as usual, she unwittingly rubs in the magical means which kills her love. In other cases locust legs are pushed into the interior of a bone pipe, which is then handed round as usual. If care is taken that both lovers smoke of it, the magic will prove effective. In another instance quoted by Schultze,[3] the girl's parents consulted a magician, who smeared a small stick with some of the contents of his medicine horn, broke the stick, and threw the pieces apart, at the same time uttering the words: "The two who love each other must separate."

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[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90. [2] Schultze, op. cit., 319–20. [3] Op. cit., 297–8.

585 The marriage is celebrated by a great feast at the home of the
[583] girl's parents. On the day of the ceremony, the bridegroom has
to present a cow to his mother-in-law, in token of the fact that she brought up his bride, and carried the latter whilst still a child in the *aba* skin on her back (hence the cow is termed *aba-gomas*). A similar presentation is made to his mother by the bride. The bridegroom and his people also have to provide the cows slaughtered for the marriage feast. Oxen may not be used for this purpose, lest the marriage prove unhappy and quarrelsome, whereas the use of female animals will make it fruitful. On the morning of the ceremony the cows are driven in festive procession by the relatives of the bridegroom to the home of the bride's parents. Here they are slaughtered. While the meat is being prepared, the bridegroom is fetched from his own home by two of his companions, who play on the reed pipes. All three dance up to the hut newly erected for the bride near that of her parents, in which she is waiting with some young girl attendants. Arrived there, the men dance round the hut for a while. Then the bridegroom's companions place themselves before the entrance of the hut, so that he can get in only with difficulty and by the exercise of force. As soon as he gets through and the young girls have left the hut, the mat door is lowered and secured to the ground with a stone, as a sign that entrance is forbidden. The marriage, says Hahn, is then consummated, with the knowledge of the whole camp, but without arousing any special notice. The guests meanwhile sing, pipe, and dance, and this continues all through the evening and night, the festivities only being interrupted for the great communal meal in which everybody takes part. Before the appearance of the morning star, the husband returns to his old home, where he has to stay the whole day without even seeing his wife; and only after the third or fourth day is he allowed to remain permanently with her.

584 The ceremonies of courtship and marriage just described are
585 those noticed among the Naman within fairly recent times, and in
most details are apparently still practised by them where they have not been christianized. A much earlier account by Wikar of the marriage customs of the Little Namaqua tribes contains several features not noted above; and as he is on the whole a reliable and accurate observer his description deserves to be quoted as complementary to that just given.[1]

584 He states that a boy courting a girl with the intention of marriage

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[1] "Berigt aan . . . den Heer van Plettenberg," 100-2.

does not ask her directly for her consent, but *oua*'s or "seeks her" 584
in the following manner. If he is not ashamed and if his intentions are serious, he comes at night into the hut of her parents while the fire is still burning, and carefully notes the place where she goes to sleep. When the family all lie down to sleep, and the fire is dead, he then goes to lie by the side of the girl. She, "if not in too much of a hurry to have him," gets up and goes to lie in another part of the hut. The boy, however, remains sleeping on her skin bed until daybreak, when without speaking a word he gets up and goes away. The following night he appears again. If he finds that the girl's bed is still in the same spot, he can regard this as a sign that his courtship is favoured by her. Even if she continues to get up and lie elsewhere for several nights in succession when he lies down next to her, this is merely to test his steadfastness; he must only persevere, and all will go well. When at last she remains with him,
he does not get up till broad daylight, and he leaves lying behind [301]
him a waistband of ostrich egg-shell beads for his mother-in-law, as a gift for the use of the bed. Then, still without speaking a word, he exchanges karosses with the girl, who also gives him *buchu* with which to powder his head and rub his arm-pits. Then he goes away.

The official marriage feast is celebrated the same day. The bride- 585
groom must provide a sheep or a cow, which is slaughtered for the bride. The four legs of the animal are bound together, and in this position it lies for an hour or more. Meanwhile all the married women of the camp come together, and the bride is placed in their midst. She is lectured by them on her duties as a married woman, and they also, as Wikar quaintly puts it, "praise men who seek wives, since
to-day they have enough to eat." The animal is then slaughtered [791]
by a magician ("tovenaar"), who must be a male. A special portion of the meat is given to him, but he is the only male person who may eat of the animal. Not even the bridegroom may partake of it, nor any children or unmarried girls. The bladder of the slaughtered animal is then blown up and tied to the head of the girl; the fat is
strewn with *buchu* by the women, and this she must wear round her [301]
neck; while the sinews are threaded through ostrich egg-shell beads, which she must wear round her legs.

In the meantime, the bridegroom, desirous of winning that day 583
his laurels as a hunter, is off early into the veld with his spear, bow 585
and arrows. His quarry provides material for a general feast, which is followed by dancing and festivity. To the mother of his bride

583 he must also present two milch cows, or, if he is poor, one will do;
585 while to her father he must also give several head of cattle. In return, however, he receives almost as many—probably in the form of dowry to the wife, who also brings with her into the marriage her own hut.[1]

585 The important feature of this account, apart from the circumstantial
description of the wooing, is the clear evidence it provides for the
264 holding of a special meal in which only the bride and previously-married women take part. Meals of this sort, by means of which persons entering upon a new stage of life are aggregated into the group of persons already in that stage, play an important part in almost all the social ceremonies of the Hottentots. Except in the present instance, however, there is no definite statement that such a meal accompanies marriage, although, as we shall see, its existence as an essential part of the marriage ceremony is hinted at in the careful analysis given by Mrs. Hoernlé of the transition rites ("rites de passage") of the Hottentots.

178 In the case of the Cape Hottentots, all trace of the marriage
ceremonies has naturally long since disappeared. For information
584 about them we have to rely for the most part upon seventeenth and
585 eighteenth century accounts, which as a rule leave much to be desired. The two most useful sources of this kind are Graevenbroeck and Kolb, whose descriptions again introduce several new features.[2]

584 According to Kolb, the boy, when he has picked on the girl he wishes to marry, approaches his father, who then acts as his intermediary with her parents. If they are favourably inclined, and here again there is first a show of reluctance, the boy then for the first time directly asks the girl for her consent. If she says yes, all is well; if not, the two sleep together on the following night, when the girl has to struggle to retain her virginity. If she is successful, the suitor must depart; but if, as generally happens, she becomes tired and gives in to him, the marriage is settled, whether she is willing or not. It is not unlikely that in this episode we really have something akin to the wooing described by Wikar, but Kolb's short description of it is more romantic than exhaustive, so that the resemblance cannot be stressed.

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[1] This exchange of cattle at marriage is incidentally mentioned by several later writers on the Nama, but their statements are so inadequate that its real nature cannot be determined.

[2] Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–3; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 70–3; cf. Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 192; Dapper, *Nauwkeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten, Tweede Deel*, 273.

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For the actual marriage ceremony, according to Graevenbroeck, 585 a couple of sheep or even a cow are slaughtered. While the meat is being cooked, the bride is handed over to an old woman, who instructs her in the duties of married life, teaches her how to keep her husband and to love him, " and in what the secrets of wedlock consist." Then the old woman smears the gall of the slaughtered animal over the feet of the bride, and ties its bladder to the roof of the hut in which all this is taking place. The magician who has slaughtered the animal then comes up to the young couple, who are naked or at most dressed in a loin-cloth, smears their bodies from head to foot with fat, and powders them both with *buchu*. He next ties round their necks the twisted pericardium of the animal, and finally admonishes them to live in mutual faith and love, wishes them a numerous offspring, and so forth. All then feast on the remains of the animal, the men and the women eating apart. The bride, however, must remain fasting until the following morning. The feast is followed by dancing, which is kept up till late, and then the young couple are left alone in the hut and the marriage is consummated. If the marriage is celebrated more handsomely, the bridegroom on the next day brings the bride to his own home, accompanied by relatives of both and friends. Here she is welcomed with a new drinking bout and a feast, and the young couple are again admonished and given good wishes. Everybody then returns to his normal occupation.

Kolb's description differs somewhat from the above. When the arrangements for the marriage have been concluded, he says, the bridegroom, accompanied by his father, drives one, two, or three fat oxen, according to his means, to the hut or camp of the bride, where her parents and friends are assembled together. The oxen are here slaughtered, the people smear themselves with the fat of the animals and powder themselves with *buchu*, while the women in addition paint their faces with red powder. The men and the women then seat themselves in two rings, each sex by itself; the bride squats in the centre of the women's ring, the bridegroom in the centre of the men's ring. The *suri* or magician of the camp now goes to the [791]
men's ring, and as soon as he reaches the bridegroom says a few
words to him, then urinates over him from head to foot; this he also [514]
does to the bride, as soon as he enters the ring of women. This performance he repeats twice again. The words accompanying it wish the young couple good fortune in their married life, and express the hope that they will be blessed in the coming year with

585 a son who will grow up strong and big and be a good hunter and a valiant man.

In the meantime the meat of the slaughtered animals has been cooking. When it is ready, everybody joins in the feast, the men and the women, however, eating apart. The only exception is in the case of the bridegroom, who eats sitting together with the women—but out of a separate pot and of meat specially set aside for him. [276] After the feast dagga is smoked, a pipe being passed round out of which every person inhales a few times before handing it on. This smoking bout, which owing to the nature of the herb soon degenerates into a noisy and drunken orgy, is kept up till late at night, when they are all tired and stupefied, and turn in to sleep. The bridegroom now sleeps for the first time with his wife. The festivities are continued on the following day, as long as there is still anything to eat. Dancing, according to Kolb, never takes place at the marriage ceremony, but on this point he is contradicted by most of the other writers.

Married Life

As will have been noted, the descriptions given above vary somewhat in certain details. They all agree, however, in stating that the marriage is celebrated by a special ceremony at the home of the wife's people, accompanied by a feast and general rejoicing. With the conclusion of this ceremony, which as it were stamps the seal of public approval upon the marriage contract, the young couple are legally married. Henceforth they form a separate household in the community, live in their own hut, have their own herd of cattle, sheep and goats, and in general play the part of full adult members of society.

591 606 Among the Naman, however, the husband continues to live with his wife at the home of her parents for at least a year after the marriage, and not till then, or until his first child has been born, is he at liberty to return with his family to his own people's camp and there establish his independent household. Before departing he has again to present to his mother-in-law a good milch cow, this time in token of his release. As long as he remains with his parents-in-law he has to perform all sorts of heavy tasks for them, and to accompany his father-in-law in the hunting field as well as to war. Sometimes, as we have already mentioned, the husband may remain permanently with his wife's people. As a rule, however, this matrilocal residence is

only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often 591
shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the
man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal 606
as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture
in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide
this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the
young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that 593
of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle
in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several 562
paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, 422
and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, 595
however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

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[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 18; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–4; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 297, 318; Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 16.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 46; Hahn, op. cit., 19; Schultze, op. cit., 299; Schinz, op. cit. 82; Wandres, "Ueber das Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Hottentotten," 279; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25–6; *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 9146), 73.

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595 hut was regarded as the principal hut of the family, visiting friends off-saddled in front of it, and in it the husband received his guests. Her children were better clothed than, and given preference to, those of the other wives, and received appreciably more of the paternal inheritance.[1]

Nowadays the Hottentots are ostensibly monogamists. But where there are no children to the marriage or only daughters, the custom is still sometimes exercised by which the husband enters into the *sore* relationship with a girl, who becomes his concubine. This *sore* relationship in no way debars the girl from subsequently marrying another man, if she wishes to, but her marriage results in the ending of all intimacy. The children born of this relationship remain with their natural father, and have the same rights of inheritance as the children of a properly-married woman. [578] To the wife the existence of such a relationship is a matter of deep mortification, since it reflects upon her own barrenness, and consequently greatly reduces her prestige. Often, as a result of her jealousy, the girl dare not come into the man's camp, but has to be visited by him at her own home. Olpp states further that many men, when they are absent from home, will be unfaithful to their wives, and may even keep regular concubines in distant kraals. Honourable women, who feel their position damaged, may in such a case leave their husbands, and return with the hut and household property to their parents, until the husband humbly comes to seek pardon.[2]

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684 Infidelity on the part of the husband is not recognized as a ground for divorce, nor is adultery on the part of the wife. In the old days, according to Kolb, the Cape Hottentots regarded the latter as a capital offence, punishable by death without further question and without the least regard for the status of the adulterer. The Naman also, according to Kohler's informant, would kill the adulterer if caught red-handed. Otherwise the matter had to be referred to the tribal council, which would fine the adulterer and perhaps order him to be thrashed. It seems, however, that in more recent times at least, the injured husband could altogether overlook the offence, if he wished. Vedder even goes so far as to say that adultery, though regarded as improper, is not subject to punishment.[3]

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[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 330; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 317; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 345.

[2] Von François, op. cit., 213, 224; Olpp, loc. cit.; cf. Schultze, op. cit., 319; *Report on Natives of S.W.A.*, 73.

[3] Kohler, op. cit., 334; Kolb, op. cit., 71; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

And Wikar, as far back as 1778, described what almost seems to have been a form of wife exchange among the Little Namaqua tribes. A married man, he says, will come at night into the hut of another, and lie down next to the latter's wife; whereupon the husband gets up to make room for him, and goes to sleep in another part of the hut. The following night this process is reversed, but, as Wikar delightfully adds, if the wife of the man who first initiated it is ugly, the affair is soon ended ("maar is de vrouw van diegeene die 't spel eerst begonnen heeft leelijk, dan wil 't tog niet braaf lukken met deeze handel")! This form of intercourse is naturally of quite a different order from adultery, for although it is an encroachment upon the husband's sexual prerogative over his wife, it takes place with his full agreement, and he himself obtains a reciprocal liberty. It appears from Wikar's description that the relationship is formally agreed upon by the two husbands, for he speaks of it as being accompanied by slaughtering and rejoicing, but it is not clear if we have anything here in the nature of the *sore* relationship.[1] In any case it is a good illustration of the freedom of sexual life among the Hottentots. A similar instance is mentioned by Alexander: "If a Hottentot has been out hunting and on his return finds his place occupied, he sits down at the door of his hut, and the paramour handing him out a bit of tobacco, the injured man contentedly smokes it till the latter chooses to retire."[2] This statement one would certainly question were it not compatible with the description just quoted from Wikar, who is on the whole so accurate an observer that there is no good reason for rejecting his evidence on this particular point. 837

The only ground for divorce is ill-treatment, which has to be proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council, in whose hands the ecision lies. A wife deserting her husband is forced to return to im, and similarly a husband abandoning his wife is requested to eturn to her. Should he refuse or neglect to do so, his property is aken from him and handed over to her.[3] 586

Marriage, in addition to establishing the household with all its ccompanying social, economic, and legal functions, also creates ocial observances of a special type with regard to the relatives-in-aw. A man not only lives, as we have seen, with his parents-in-law or some time after his marriage, during which he has to render them 606

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[1] Op. cit., 103.

[2] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 196. Cf. also Thunberg, *Travels in* rope, *Africa, and Asia*, ii, 40, 64-5.

[3] [illegible], op. cit., 340, 314.

606 various services. He also has to treat his wife's mother with the greatest deference. They are said to be "shy", *sou*, of each other, and he may never look at her when addressing her. In the presence 607 of his wife's brothers also he has to be restrained; he may not, e.g. 587 be quarrelsome, nor may he beat his children and cause them to cry. To his wife's sisters, however, he behaves, according to Mrs. Hoernlé, "much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed." A woman, again, "considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them." Even now it is customary that after the death of a man his brother takes the widow into his hut, unless she already has grown-up sons and is sufficiently well-to-do to manage her household without assistance.[1]

Remarriage Ceremonies

587 The survivor of a marriage, whether man or woman, is not permitted to remarry until at least a full year has elapsed since the death of the other partner.[2] At the new marriage ceremony, whether a widow marries a young man, a widower a young woman, or even a widow a widower, great ritual precautions are necessary, and an elaborate ceremonial is performed. The details of this custom have been carefully recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé.[3]

587 783 794 Following upon the regular marriage feast, she says, a special remarriage feast is held. For this a special animal is killed, if possible a sheep, otherwise a goat. The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut specially built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor, and await proceedings. They are now in the peculiar state known to the Hottentots as */nau*, during which they are not only themselves in an extremely precarious condition, but are also a source of danger to all other people who have not undergone the same ceremony. Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan (*sic*) see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut; still less would

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[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 27; Schultze, op. cit., 301 sq.; Kohler, op. cit., 345. The existence of the levirate among the Naman was noted as far back as 1761 by Roos and Marais, who state that if a man dies, having behind him a wife and children, it is the duty of his eldest surviving brother to take the woman to wife and to bring up her children as his own; but if she has sufficient means to support herself and her children, the brother has the right to decide whether he takes her or not. ("Rapport aan den . . . Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 57.)

[2] Kohler, op. cit., 346.

[3] "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of !nau among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, 2 (1918), 73-5.

anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there. 587

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned 783
there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself 784
be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become */nau*, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots.

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating [841
women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, 843]
otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die.

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain */nau*, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed [302]
by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and [386]
/naap (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it
off in handfuls.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

587 off in handfuls. A complete change of clothing must also be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets.

783 Next the couple are reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of daily
784 life from which they have hitherto been cut off. The wife is taken to milk a cow, the old woman supporting her arm as she does so. Then a visit is paid to the waterhole, where the wife is sprinkled with water and her arms and legs rubbed with mud by the old woman, who also fills her water pot for her. The wife is also reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire in the hut, which has not been used for this purpose since the day of the ceremonial cutting. The old woman supports her arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, then helps her to lift the pot from the fire. The fire is then removed and a new one kindled. Finally the wife goes to gather wood, again with the assistance of the old woman. From now on she is again free to pursue these normal tasks of her daily life.

The husband has to be reintroduced not only to water but also to the cattle kraal. The night before this takes place some branches of the tamarisk and acacia trees are soaked in water. This water he takes the next day, and with it sprinkles the cattle and sheep. After that he also is free to go about his duties as usual.

THE CONCEPTION OF */nau*

783 This ceremony is a typical example of the many "transition
784 rites" found in Hottentot life, and its details can best be understood against the background of the elements common to all these ceremonies.[1] All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.

Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people

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[1] The following description is taken almost verbatim from the analysis made by Mrs. Hoernlé in her important paper, "The Conception of /nau among the Hottentots," pp. 67-9. These transition rites are also referred to, under the name "anderssmachen" (i.e. "alienation") by Kolb, *Vorgebürge der Guten Hoffnung*, 11 seqq., and by Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 93-4, but their accounts are far less comprehensive.

783 784 already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. Since, however, a /nau person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing with him, who might also become /nau, only persons who have passed through all the stresses and strains of human life, and no longer fear anything, are qualified to deal with him. None but very old men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition; they alone can be called upon to restore the /nau person to the community. But not any old man or old woman will do; it must be one having the same characteristic as the /nau person. Only a widowed person can safely deal with one /nau by the recent loss of husband or wife. Only one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease, and preferably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease—the worse the better.

Seclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of "initiation" varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth, marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognized, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by receiving the man or woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental meal in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of crises—remarriage, boys' puberty ceremonies, reception into the rank of hunters, treatment of diseases regarded as /nau, etc.—a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary. The /nau person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the "essence" of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one part is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person.

783 784 372 Next follows a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. During this time certain other things become /nau in relation to the /nau person. First of all there is the fire in the hut in which he is secluded. This fire must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the hut and the renewal of the fire. During all this time, moreover, nothing must be cooked at the fire, nor must anyone come near it who

783 might increase the peril in which the *!nau* person finds himself. Thus
784 pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded from the hut.
All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that
372 is bound up with the fire. The *!nau* fire must be respected, not because other persons may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. Raw meat and cold water, again, are sources of great danger to a *!nau* person, and must be kept away from him. It does not seem as if the water itself ever becomes *!nau*, but every *!nau* person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. The clothing and utensils of the *!nau* person also become *!nau*, but they are a source of danger to others than himself—theirs is the peril if they inadvertently make use of these things before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him.

The period of seclusion is brought to a close by a renunciation of all that represents the old life—the person, as Mrs. Hoernlé expresses it, must be reborn. There is first a special cleansing of his body by the individual officiating. Then a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the hut is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the *!nau* person and persons who can no longer become *!nau* may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks so long laid aside, "and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member."[1]

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585 [1] It will be noticed from this description that the conception of *!nau* also applies to the ordinary marriage ceremonies. Unfortunately the data on which Mrs. Hoernlé bases her statement have not yet been published. It is possible, however, to find some confirmation for it in certain of the details recorded by earlier observers, fragmentary though their accounts appear when considered in the light of the analysis given above. Thus Wikar, as we have noted, explicitly mentions the sacramental meal in which only the bride and women already married may take part; and, indeed, in his remarks generally about these transition rites (*andersmaken*, as he terms them), he emphasises the fact that a meal is held in which only the "patient" and those who have previously undergone the rite may participate. The statement by both Graevenbroeck and Kolb that men and women eat apart at the marriage feast also points in the same direction, although this is by no means clear from their descriptions. Graevenbroeck further mentions the ceremonial cleansing of the young couple, and Kolb's description of the urination may possibly also be interpreted in this light. None of the accounts, however, even hints at any period of seclusion, nor at anything which can be regarded as a reintroduction of the young couple to the normal tasks of daily life.

Cape Hottentots

BIRTH

Pregnancy

The ideas of the Hottentots regarding the causes of conception do not appear to have been specially investigated. The fact that in 842 cases of premarital pregnancy the girl's lover is expected to marry her, and in any case has a claim to the child, seems to indicate that physiological paternity is recognized. But there is no concrete information that the Hottentots are acquainted with the connection between sexual intercourse and conception. In their mythology we even 842 meet with a few instances in which women have conceived without 773 having connection with a man. Thus it is told that on one occasion, when some young girls had gone out to fetch firewood, one of them took a kind of sweet juicy grass, chewed it, and swallowed the juice. As a result she became pregnant, and was delivered of a son, Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth.[1] An instance of this kind, however, can, owing to its mythological character, hardly be interpreted as reflecting the normal beliefs of the Hottentots regarding the causes of conception.

On the whole there seems to be a general desire among the people 842 to have children. A barren woman, as we have seen, is looked down upon, and may even have to suffer the mortification of seeing her husband take a concubine. There are also various indications of rites specially designed to secure the birth of children. Graevenbroeck and Kolb, in their descriptions of the Cape Hottentot marriage ceremonies, both state that the person officiating publicly expresses the wish that the young couple will have offspring; and similarly the slaughter of only female animals for the Nama marriage feast is interpreted as due to the desire that the marriage may prove fruitful. Wikar, again, mentions that a barren woman will have recourse to a magician, who strokes her on the abdomen with pieces of horn and wood, and also smears her there with the contents of his medicine horn. Moreover, an ewe heavy with lamb is slaughtered, and the woman must carry the amnion of this unborn lamb on her back, like a child. Also, according to Schinz, women during confinement [262] (*sic*) must eat only goat's flesh in order to promote their fertility.[2]

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[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 69. Another myth of the same kind relates that Heitsi Eibib was born as a young bull of a cow impregnated by eating grass (ibid., 68. The original Nama text is given in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 177).

[2] Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 104; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 97.

842 As a rule boys are preferred to girls, since they increase the military strength of the tribe and help to defend its herds, as well as to augment them on raiding expeditions.[1] There is no record, however, of any observances or food specially designed to secure the birth of male children, although, as we have seen, the husband of a woman who has only borne daughters may take a concubine.

847 Women who do not want children achieve their aim mainly by
[842] abortion, which is not infrequently practised. Contraceptives are
apparently unknown. The principal abortifacient is the inspissated
[825] urine and fæces of the rock rabbit or dassie (*Hyrax capensis*), gathered
from the clefts and crannies it inhabits. A decoction of this, boiled
and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in
[824] succession. A certain thorn bush (*Sarcocaulon sp.*), pounded
whole and boiled, is also used, while still another method is to keep
binding the abdomen tightly round with leather straps until delivery
is forced on.[2] No motives are given by our authorities for abortion,
although presumably it is practised chiefly in case of illegitimate
847 pregnancy. According to Wandres, both the woman and anybody
682 assisting her to procure abortion are, if discovered, brought before
the tribal council and punished by thrashing, while at least five sheep
or goats are claimed as court fees. The usual number of lashes for
such an offence is forty, of which the woman's lover can, if he wishes,
take over twenty.[3] The same punishment was given to a pregnant
woman if the women massaging her found on her abdomen the
striations of an old, secret delivery.[4]

843 The first symptoms of pregnancy, according to Hottentot ideas, are usually not the cessation of menstruation, but the onset of sickness, vomiting, lack of appetite, etc., providing that the woman does not normally suffer from these complaints. From the time that she feels herself pregnant, she is carefully massaged on the abdomen two or three times a week, for an hour to an hour and a half at a time, by two of the old women of the camp, who take note of the growth and position of the fœtus. Conception, according to their ideas, takes place in the bladder, where a second bladder is formed in which the embryo is then enclosed. The uterus is only an appendix to the

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[1] Von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27; Schultze, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.

[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Laidler, "Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 443, 445, 446; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 668.

[3] Wandres, loc. cit.; cf. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 355.

[4] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 319.

embryo, and goes to pieces with the outpouring of the after-waters 843
and the blood, to form anew at the next pregnancy. The fœtus is not regarded as alive until the seventh month. Gestation is recognized to extend over nine months, and its progress is carefully measured. The calculation starts on the new moon after the manifestation of the 805
first signs, when a cut is made in one of the poles of the hut. Every 211
successive new moon is similarly marked, until the ninth cut is has been made, when preparations are taken in hand for the delivery.[1]

Of the social usages relating to pregnancy we have but little information. Vedder states that the husband, as soon as the first symptoms of pregnancy become visible, must devote special attention to his wife, and is obliged especially to appease her wishes for special food, in order not to endanger the new life.[2] Unfortunately, we are not told in what this special food consists. Schultze, on the other hand, says that the expectant mother does not have to follow any special diet, only care must be taken that she does not suffer from constipation, as this will make the birth more difficult. A pregnant woman, however, may not be present when an animal is being slaughtered, otherwise her child will be born with a slit throat, nor may she reach with upstretched arms to the roof of the hut, lest the child become fatally entangled in the navel cord.[3] It is also believed that if a woman during pregnancy drinks the blood or eats the flesh of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, swiftness, and strength. Hahn mentions in this connection that a woman whom he once reproached for cruelty attributed her temper to the fact that her mother drank panther (*sic*) blood, in order to bear ferocious children.[4] Pregnant women must also, as we have seen, refrain from entering the hut in which a *!nau* person is secluded, lest they increase the peril in which he finds himself. The beating of a pregnant woman, even by her husband, is regarded 683
as brutality, and if miscarriage follows the culprit is given fifty lashes.[5] There is no information as to the time when sexual intercourse ceases between a husband and his pregnant wife, nor is there anything to indicate that the woman interrupts her normal occupations before the day of birth.

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[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 215–17; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.

[2] "The Nama," 135.

[3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 216.

[4] *Tsuni-||Goam*, 85.

[5] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 668.

Delivery.

844 Birth-giving among the Naman is, in normal circumstances, a carefully prepared event.[1] Towards the end of her pregnancy the woman as a rule goes back to the home of her mother, and even when this is not the case, her mother is usually summoned to be present at the birth. Delivery itself takes place in the woman's hut, from which, during labour, all men are excluded. An old woman well versed in [562] the art of midwifery is called in to supervise. For her services she receives a fee of two goats, if the child is a boy, and only one if it is a girl—a notable expression of the superior value attached to boys. The mother of the pregnant woman and a few of her female relatives are present to lend assistance.

As soon as the first sharp pains commence, the labouring woman turns on her left side, where she is kept in a half-erect, half-lying position, her shoulders and back supported against the knee of one of the attendants, her head bent forward on to the breast, and her legs sharply bent. It would mean death to the child if she were to lie on her back or with legs outstretched. Delivery is effected with the aid of the midwife, who manipulates the fœtus until it has safely emerged from the womb. The umbilical cord is tied half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, and cut through above this by the midwife. The part attached to the baby is left until it gradually comes away by itself. No special significance seems to attach to the umbilical cord, nor to the placenta, which, however, is buried in the ground.

The newborn baby may not be washed with water. It is cleaned with a dry skin, rubbed all over with fat, then laid on the ground, [278] wrapped in another skin. A salve of fat and powder made of burned ostrich egg-shell is always kept at hand, and with this the baby is streaked on the forehead, temples, and nose. The fontanelles also are thickly smeared with it, to prevent the entry of disease. Among the 853 Hottentots of Little Namaqualand the milk of the mother's breast is not regarded fit for the child until about the third day after birth. Till then the baby is given goat's or cow's milk, unless another woman can be found, already weaning her own child, who is able to give it her breast. Failing the latter resource the artificially-fed baby, when at last put to its mother's breast, is often already too weak to suck with success. Schultze, who records this custom, offers no explanation for it. It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted

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Schultze, op. cit., 217–23; Schinz, op. cit., 97; von François, op. cit., 214–15.

It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted
by Seiner among the Kung Bushmen, the underlying belief here being 853
that if the child were placed too soon at its mother's breast both would 171
die. Whether this is also the Hottentot belief cannot, of course,
be said.

Immediately after the birth the mother is covered as warmly as 846
possible, so that she perspires. Under this cover she must remain for
several days, and only the skin on which she is lying is occasionally
changed. It is not till the seventh, or even the tenth, day that she
is able to resume her normal occupations.[1] During this period of
seclusion she must carefully refrain from touching cold water.
Schultze mentions that on one occasion, when a woman who had just
given birth was bleeding profusely and had even fainted several
times, a white woman present wished to apply to her a cloth soaked
in cold water. Thereupon all the Hottentot attendants immediately
left the hut, holding the white woman responsible for the death of
the patient, which they expected would inevitably follow as a result
of her contact with the water. Hahn mentions also[2] that at a child's 846
birth a fire is made in the hut with a fire-drill. Steel, flint, or matches 372
may not be used for this purpose. This fire is to be maintained until
the navel of the child is healed, and the umbilical cord fallen off; and
nothing may be cooked or roasted on it. If these points are not strictly
observed, the child will die. The end of the seclusion period is marked
by a feast, provided by the father.

Of the ceremonies accompanying the end of the seclusion and the 852
resumption of her ordinary tasks by the mother we have but
fragmentary details. Both in Walvis Bay and in Fransfontein
Mrs. Hoernlé was told that babies are taken into the first rainstorm
occurring after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, i.e.
after the navel cord has fallen off. In Walvis Bay, among the Topnaars,
it is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother
or the grandmother, "so that it will know the rain and not be
frightened of it." According to a Dutch informant, the baby is taken
out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is
laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the
child and back again; then lifts it up, tosses it this way and that in
the rain, and says: "I toss you in the rain." This is done, "so that
the rain will not hurt the baby"; it is the baby's introduction to the

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[1] From other accounts it appears that the period of seclusion lasts until the baby's navel cord has fallen off.

[2] Op. cit., 77.

Cape Hottentots

852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots
184 agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains
a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the
patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well
as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon
as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter
[783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean",
and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing
meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

845 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually
757 protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and
cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain
it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink,
in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy
delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels
844 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which
they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist
cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in
[824] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will
make it nimble and fleet of foot; then smeared all over with freshly-melted
sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the
blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon
which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must
continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow
ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up
together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer
may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is
846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no
mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

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[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 524, 525–6.

[2] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 64–6; cf. Germann, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xii, 324–6; Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–4 *passim*.

at, and powder themselves with *buchu*. When the husband then enters 846
he hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects [276]
f this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in
is hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the
irth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period
f seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in
varm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only
hen is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may
ot be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and
iends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, 851
celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially
it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. 844
ut they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying 846
irth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot
transition rites ". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of 783
old water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period 784
f seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters
e hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water,
well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—
l these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies
ssociated with the conception of *!nau*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general
nalysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a
cramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who
ave borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a
ast to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the
irth ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar,
owever, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions
n which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1]
e gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's
wn data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet
een published.

bnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. 845
ch a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might 791
ecome a clever *!gei aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

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[1] Op. cit., 94.

845 [790] others, however, said that the child became a *gebo aob* (seer).[1] Mis-
shapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls,
845 were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive
847 in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill
562 luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed
777 usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some
other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

Twin births among the Naman are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andersmachen* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

845 In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by
304 Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women
that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this
operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is
nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins
has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

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[1] "Social Value of Water," 520; cf. Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 220.

[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334; Sparman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 359.

[3] Schultze, op. cit., 223; private information from Mrs. Hoernlé.

[4] Op. cit., 365.

[5] Op. cit., 66–8; cf. Fritsch, loc. cit.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii, 195.

if his explanation of the excision were correct. Most other writers, 845
as we have already mentioned, state that the operation was performed 304
in order to increase the swiftness of the man in running.[1]

Names

There is no record of any special naming ceremony among the 553
Hottentots, apart from Graevenbroeck's statement that at the feast marking the end of the mother's seclusion her husband publicly asks her what name she has conferred upon the child. In general he agrees with her, while all the other people present, as Graevenbroeck naively puts it, praise her ingenuity, greet the child by its name, and then, after wishing both it and the parents good luck, celebrate the feast.[2] Kolb says the child's name is decided by the mother immediately after the birth, unless she is too weak to do so, when the child is named
by its father. The names chosen, he adds, are those of cattle, sheep, 551
and goats.[3]

We have already noted, however, that among the Naman, and probably this applies to all the other Hottentots as well, all sons take the name of their mother, and all daughters the name of their father, as their chief or "great" name, *gei khoi |ons*. If the father's name, e.g., is *gomarib*, and that of the mother *||khunibes* (*-b* and *-s* are the masculine and feminine sex-endings respectively), a son will be called *||khunibeb* and a daughter *gomaris*. To this name the son, when he is grown, adds another—the "great name" of his father, modified by infixing the syllable *ma* before the final gender suffix. His name now will be, in the example given, *||khunibeb-gomarimab*. The use of this additional name is less customary with women; but if found follows the same principle; hence *gomaris-||khunibemas*.

As a result of this system of naming, all own brothers will have the same name, and all own sisters will have the same name. The difficulty this involves is evaded, as we have seen, by the use of special adjectives indicating the relative order of birth. The eldest son, e.g., will be called *||khunibeb geib*, the second son *|khunibeb !nagamab*, the youngest *||khunibeb ǂkarib*, and so on, and similarly in the case of the daughters. Additional distinctions are made by means of nicknames, of which there is a great variety. Some refer to physical characteristics, others reflect some historical circumstance connected

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., 58; cf. Ten Rhyne, loc. cit.; Wikar, op. cit., 98–9.
[2] Op. cit., 2.
[3] Op. cit., 68–9.

551 with the person, others, again, are purely derisive. In any case, however, the confusion is great, since all the brothers' daughters will have the same " great name ", and so, too, will all the sisters' sons; while later generations will carry the name even further.

In addition to this " great name " derived from that of its father or of its mother, as the case may be, each child has also a baby name or pet name given it by its mother according to fancy. This name, however, may be used by none but the parents, and by them only till the child comes of age. Even a husband may not use his wife's baby name, but must call her by the baby name of their eldest son, and similarly, a woman calls her husband by their eldest daughter's baby name.[1]

CHILDHOOD AND FAMILY LIFE

853 A child is often suckled by its mother till three or four years old.
[854] When going about her daily occupations she carries it with her on
her back, *aba*'s it, as the expression is, in a lambskin passed through her
arms and knotted over the breast. Kolb and Hahn even state that
when the baby is hungry the mother will not trouble to take it down,
but simply pushes up her breast over her shoulder so that the baby
[862] can suck while still on her back. To wean it the mother rubs her
nipples with the bitter juice of the aloe. If the milk does not cease
flowing she is milked several times directly into the hot ashes of the
hearth fire; and as the milk evaporates there, so also will it dry up in
her. Should another child be born before the first is weaned, the latter
is handed over to another woman, generally a near relative of the
[847] mother. The infanticide practised among the North-Western Bushmen
under similar circumstances is not found among the Hottentots.[2]

866 From the moment it can stand on its feet the child, although still
262 dependent upon its mother, gradually learns to fend for itself in its
environment. Hottentot children grow rather slowly, probably, says
[145] Schultze, because of the scanty nourishment. In poorer families they
are shown by the mother how to dig out roots and bulbs for themselves; they learn to catch mice, lizards, and similar small animals, which they roast on the fire; seek out wild honey, and so on. In the more wealthy families each child is allotted a special cow for his own use, which he may milk for himself in the morning and evening;

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[1] Hahn, "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51–2; *idem*, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, op. cit., 303–8; Hoernlé, *Richterveld*, 14–15.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 76; Schinz, op. cit., 97–8; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Schultze, op. cit., 222, 299.

and during the day, when the cattle are at pasture, he is fed upon this 866
milk. The little boys early begin to herd the goats, every boy being 262
entrusted with a number, whose milk he may use. It is not long before
he is able to catch a beast with great dexterity out of the running flock, 868
sit under or behind it, and milk it into his mouth. The little girls remain always with their mother, and gradually learn to assist her in the daily household tasks; to see that a standing supply of firewood is maintained, to prepare the food and the ointments for the body, to fetch water, to make the reed mats, and keep the hut in repair, and so on.[1]

Among themselves the children play games of various kinds. In 857
some they imitate the doings of their elders—catch mice, for example, put them into a small kraal, then castrate all the males excepting one, which is kept as the ram of the herd. They prepare small bows and arrows for themselves, with which they hunt small animals such as lizards, mice, and birds; make clay figures of human beings, cattle and other animals which they burn in the fire; and compete with one another in throwing sticks to a distance, concealing stones in their hands, and so on.

Children of about the same age, both boys and girls, who grow 857
up together in the same place, regard one another as "mates"
(*/gui //han*) for the rest of their lives. Often enough they do not 572
address one another by name, but use the intimate terms *aotse* (voc. of *aob*, man or husband) and *axiase* (voc. of *xais*, woman or wife). As children they play together in bands, usually closely organized for a year or more. They elect for themselves a "captain", who chooses his "lieutenant"; both have younger boys as their personal servants. They direct all the games and other activities, and even settle the love disputes of the others. Disobedience of their orders or such misbehaviour as sexual intercourse is punished with a fine of tobacco or food, often enough a fairly severe penalty when food is none too plentiful. The adults are content to leave in their hands the regulation of their coevals, thereby strengthening this system of self-government of the young. In later life the close bond between age-mates remains unbroken, and, indeed, the whole spirit of their relations is one of deep friendship and mutual obligation throughout life.[2]

In social life generally age carries prestige, and differences in status 561
are often marked to some extent by relative age. Every junior is

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[1] Schultze, op. cit. 300; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 207; Schinz, op. cit., 98.

[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 308–15; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 522–3.

561 expected to be of service to his elders. In company, according to Olpp, only coevals may sit and discuss together; and when once a [576] person has taken up the word, he may not be interrupted before he has had his say.[1]

561 593 In family life also respect for age is inculcated in every way. The children, as we have seen, remain in the same hut as their parents till marriage, and are thus directly dependent upon them both morally and for the means of subsistence. The authority of the parents makes itself felt at all stages of life, and they must be treated with affection and regard. 888 603 576 This is seen especially in old age. Although, as we shall subsequently notice, old people might under special circumstances be abandoned to their fate, as among the Bushmen, yet normally the grandparents are regarded with deference; they are spared all possible work, and everyone in the family has the duty of being helpful to them. The terms *ti //náob* "my grandfather", or *ti //ndosa* "my grandmother", are used as expressions of extreme respect, not only to one's own grandparents, but also to old people in no way related to the family.[2]

561 576 593 Among brothers and sisters the same regard is noticed for relative age. We have already seen how in the kraal their huts are ranged in definite order of seniority, and the mere fact that there is this tendency for brothers to live together indicates the strength of family feeling. Of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honoured place and the first voice in any debate; in family affairs his opinion carries authority. Only elders may address their juniors directly by name. They themselves must be spoken to by special terms: *ousis* in the case of the eldest sister, *siros* or *sisiros* in the case of all others older than the speaker; *abudib* for the eldest brother, and *budirob* for the others. The behaviour proper to brothers is due also to all the people called "brother", and little difference is made, says Mrs. Hoernlé, by the fact that they may be, for example, the sons of the father's brother, and not of one's own father.[3]

576 593 Between brothers and sisters, however, there is a strong taboo in later life, although as children they may run about together. A sister is a *sáras*, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly, and her brother is said to be shy, *sou*, in her presence. He must never

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[1] *Angra Pequena*, 23.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 300.

[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 21; Schultze, op. cit., 301. The term *ousis* is derived from the Dutch *ou*, old, and *sussie*, sister; *siros* or *sisiros* are formed with the Nama diminutive particle *ro*. *Abudib* and *budirob* are similarly derived from the Dutch *boetie*, brother.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

L. Schultze

TOPNAAR GIRL, WEARING SHEEPSKIN KAROSS

face p. 270

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576 speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must
593 ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of
anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody
will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he
wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in
the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful
terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei xaras*, his great respected
195 one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *xi /gâs ao na*,
576 as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk
593 into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be
generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking
part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut
when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive
curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to
fly into a passion, is *sa /gâsa xue*, commit incest with your sister.

602 This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men
to whom she applies the relationship term */gâb*, brother, even if
576 they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad
195 language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which
582 to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with
respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old
days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a
woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says
[177] Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization
of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and
European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively
frequent."[1]

602 Quite different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his
own generation whom he calls *//nuris*. They are his companions, his
playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and horseplay.
Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong.
It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the
old days.[2]

604 The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations
of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively.
The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great
restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

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[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., [illegible]; Hahn, "Zur Kunde der Hottentotten," [illegible]; idem, *Tsuni-//Goam*, [illegible]; von François, op. cit., [illegible]; Schultze, op. cit., pass.

[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

604 circumspection towards her, so his children have to treat her with the greatest deference. To them also she is *siras* or *gei saras*. On the other hand, the relation of a man to his sister's children is one of the 604 greatest indulgence and goodwill. A boy can do almost anything at his maternal uncle's home without being blamed for it. He can take, 425 without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle has no redress but to take ugly misformed animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange, *||nuri ||gab* or *||nuri ||as*, is still practised by the Naman to-day. It extends over all aspects of portable property—karosses, utensils, implements, and so on, as well as livestock—and always the nephew has the privilege of helping himself to some fine specimen of any object in his uncle's possession, while the latter may only lay hands upon poor specimens, such as broken pots, tattered karosses, and other damaged objects. In no case is the exercise of this mutual exploitation regarded as abuse, however far it is carried by one partner or the other.[1]

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONIES

881 The attainment of puberty in the case of both boys and girls was marked among the Hottentots by the performance of special rites. The boys' puberty ceremonies seem now to have completely lapsed; those of the girls, on the other hand, are even to-day carefully observed among the Naman. They were noted as far back as 1778 by Wikar,[2] and are mentioned by a number of subsequent writers,[3] but the first comprehensive account of them is contained in the recent descriptions given by Mrs. Hoernlé.[4] Her observations in most cases corroborate the more or less isolated details previously published, and show that in their main outline at least these rites have undergone hardly any significant change in the course of the last century and a half.

[145] As soon as a girl has her first period, when she is said to *kharu*, which generally happens between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, she at once tells either her girl friends or some older female relative. Through this intermediary her mother is informed. The latter then

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[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22-3; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 303-06; Schultze, op. cit., 305.

[2] "Berigt aan den Heer van Plettenberg," 99-100.

[3] Alexander, *Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, i. 169; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 97; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 203; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 292-7; Vedder, "The Nama," 136.

[4] "The Conception of Love among the Hottentots," 30-4; *idem*, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 523-6.

The latter¹ then
gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat 881
enclosure, *kharu oms*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left [343]
hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *aba taras*), carries her into the *kharu oms*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *kharu oms*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely 881
in her sheepskin kaross. The wind must on no account blow on her, 784
nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and muddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The [841]
hearth fire in the outer hut is now also */nau*, and nothing at all may [842]
be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or sterile woman 843]
come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to
himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of [753]
the other */nau* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *aba taras* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is visited by her older girl friends, who grind 881
sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get *fat*, with a smoothly shining skin.

¹ [The girl's mother. — Analyst]

881 574 Immediately she is in the hut, her relations commence slaughtering animals to provide in her honour the feast known as *kharu /ap*, "menstruation killing." All her nearer relatives contribute to this killing, even her older married brothers, if she has any. Everything slaughtered must be female, and above all a heifer must be provided. The entrails, pluck, etc., of these animals must on no account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl. The visiting friends enjoy them. This *kharu /ap* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through the puberty rites being able to [841 843] take part in it. The only exceptions to this rule are that no menstruating woman may eat of the meat, "lest the girl's period never stop," nor any pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." No man or boy either was formerly supposed to take any part at all in the feast, but nowadays, owing to the extreme poverty of the people, males are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed. The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the *aba taras* takes her share, always part of the outer flesh, inside. The girl and her friends remain in the *kharu oms*, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can. As the time of her seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, [535] regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the kraal begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. 881 783 Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

First, during the day, the *aba taras* enters the girl's enclosure, and cleanses her of all her *aua /uip*, child dirt. This is very thoroughly done with melted butter and moist cowdung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The *aba taras* smears the salve all over the body of the girl, and after allowing it to dry slightly rolls it off again with the palm of her hand. She then collects it carefully, and hides it in an ant-heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is now given a complete set of new clothing, the old woman carrying [241] off the discarded one. In former days it was at this time that the girl changed her maiden's apron for the full woman's dress; hence these puberty rites are sometimes referred to as the *broek-kaross slags*, from the Dutch term *broek-kaross* (lit. breeches-kaross) applied to the woman's rear apron. Next the girl is led into the [illegible] hut by the *aba taras*, with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to meet her. Nowadays she prepares tea or coffee, but

formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This 88/
cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. 783
The *abe tarás* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *abe tarás* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays [372]
a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer *!nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oasois*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with [43/
some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of 424]
this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *buchu* she and her [302]
friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oasois*. She [751/
takes her "powder-puff" full of *buchu*, and with it rubs each of 789]
them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both 88/
ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men 574
and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

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[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more recent account ("Social Value of Water," 1923). In the earlier version ("Conception of !nau," [illegible]), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the !nau fire, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *abe tarás*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *abe tarás* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

881 574 may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

881 535 Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oasais* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till [777] in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *buchu* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

881 Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *abo tarás*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *buchu* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it ram, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young [782 831] cow calving for the first time, the *abo tarás* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is */nau*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

881 783 Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *abo tarás*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *abo tarás* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

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[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 300, quoted by Hoernlé; cf. Wilson, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 27; Alexander, loc. cit.

water. The *aba tarás* then fills the girl's water-pot and her own, puts the former on the girl's head, and the procession returns home. The girl is now free to use water whenever she likes, except when she is menstruating. 881 783

In addition to this rite of reintroduction to water there is, according to Hahn, another rite to be performed before the girl is finally free from the restrictions imposed upon her. She must run about quite naked in the first thunderstorm coming on after her festival, so that the rain pours down and washes her whole body. The belief is that this causes her to be fruitful and have many children. He states that he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.[1] [842]

With these final rites of aggregation the ceremony is at an end. The girl is able once more to take part in the routine life of the community, only now she is regarded as ready for marriage. During her subsequent periods, however, she is again */nau*, and although there is apparently no feasting or special seclusion, she must observe the same injunctions as when she first menstruates. Thus she may not enter the cattle-fold, let alone milk; it is believed that if she does milk a cow, its milk will turn to blood. Similarly, if she cooks a meal, those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Above all she must avoid cold water, for, as Mrs. Hoernlé points out, there is this great difference between most things a menstruating woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water—cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them */nau*. Mrs. Hoernlé records an instance of a woman dying suddenly, whose death was unhesitatingly attributed to the fact that she had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. Other women, again, who had been working for white people, said that they were now sickly and never bore any children, because they had been made to work with cold water when they should not have done so.[2] 881 841 784 783 [842]

Nowadays the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and Mrs. Hoernlé goes on to say they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, except that they must

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[1] *Tsuni-ǁGoam*, [illegible] quoted by Hoernlé); cf. Schinz, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Values of Women," [illegible].

841 not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be
784 */khai !na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things;
783 and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore
when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of
[823] cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai !na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

881 A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the
girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion,
262 he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period,
[784] lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill
[757] them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

881 Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we
have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown
184 by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one
[302] custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the
[518] ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the
[262] continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

841 Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots,
makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's
783 first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmachen* in which

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[1] Ibid., 319. [2] "The Nama," 176. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 114.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots
Gonaqua

he took part with the other men of the kraal. Indeed, any man who touched a menstruating woman or anything belonging to her, or ate together with her or even came near her, was regarded as "extremely defiled", and obliged to purify himself before he could again mix freely with other men. It is to fear of such contamination, as we have seen, that Kolb ascribes the habitual separation of the sexes at meals.[1] Le Vailland, again, states that among the Gonaqua a menstruating woman would isolate herself at some distance from the rest of the community until her period was over, when, purified by bathing, she could again mix with the people.[2] These descriptions are obviously incomplete, but they serve to show that the conception of *!nau* or taboo attaching to a menstruating woman among the Naman existed also to some degree at least, among the other Hottentot peoples. 841 783

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

Although the Hottentots no longer observe any special rites connected with the attainment of maturity by boys, there is evidence enough in the literature that such rites existed in the past. Like the other Hottentot transition rites, they involved, among the Naman at least, a period of seclusion, with all its accompanying restrictions and final reintroduction to the incidents of ordinary life. But they also embodied a definite course of instruction, in which certain customary usages and laws peculiarly applicable to men were impressed upon the initiates. These rites seem to have been essentially of an individual character, in that as a rule only one boy at a time was subjected to them. On occasion perhaps three or four boys might be found undergoing them simultaneously, but this was by no means regular or necessary. In this respect among others, therefore, the Hottentot puberty rites for boys differed fundamentally from those of the North-Western Bushmen, where, as we have seen, there must always be a group of boys being initiated together. 881 [178]

No man was allowed to marry until he had passed through these rites. They served directly to initiate him into the ranks of mature men, and above all conferred upon him the privilege of habitually associating, eating, and smoking with these men. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. It is upon this aspect of the rites that Kolb lays emphasis 881 885 [582]

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[1] *Op. cit.*, [illegible] and *passim*; cf. (English trans.) *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, [illegible], [illegible].

[2] *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 40.

881 885 in describing them as they existed in his time among the Cape Hottentots. Until, he says, the boy is initiated, generally in about his eighteenth year, he must remain under the direct control of his mother and associate with the women at meals; he may not eat even with his father, let alone set himself up as a man. When at last his father, or the men as a whole, resolve to receive him into their company, all the inhabitants of the kraal assemble in the open space in the middle, where the men sit down in a circle. The initiate, smeared all over with fat and soot, squats down beyond them. The oldest man present then asks the others if they are willing to admit the boy into their ranks; on receiving their acquiescence, he steps up to the boy and informs him that henceforth he is freed from submission to his mother and that he must no longer associate with the women. Then the old man urinates freely over the boy, at the same time wishing him good fortune, fertility, a ripe old age, and similar blessings. This done, all the men feast on a sheep provided by the friends of the boy, and the latter now joins them. He is thus confirmed in the privilege of associating, eating, and drinking with the men, and leaves behind him the reproach of being a milksop. The [192] word *kutsire*, by which according to Kolb uninitiated boys are derided as being attached to women's company, is equally offensive when hurled at a mature man. He may not rest under it, but his case is [783] examined by the men, and if the accusation is upheld he is excluded from their company until he has purified himself by slaughtering a sheep. This the men eat, while he himself receives only the fat and the entrails, which he must cook with the animal's blood and consume.[1]

881 514 The urination figuring so conspicuously in Kolb's description of this and other ceremonies has been seized upon by many later writers as an instance of romantic falsification. But although there is much in his description of the Cape Hottentots not altogether above suspicion, he is confirmed on this particular point by other reliable authorities. Thus Thunberg, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "The custom is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or cawl, is tied about his neck."[2] And Wikar, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the

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[1] Op. cit., 59-60.

[2] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 43.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "goatherd dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Naman that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2] 881 514

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Naman is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("bläst") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man. 881 [343]

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts: 881 784 577

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[1] "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 103–4, 94.

[2] "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 9.

[3] "Aus dem [illegible] der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 44–7.

[4] From a casual remark by Hahn (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 22) it is the magician *(gei aob)* who has "to perform the rite of making a boy a man".

[5] *Travels in S. Africa*, 430.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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881 784 577 "You may not light and smoke your pipe in the camp of strangers or with people whom you do not really know. You may not sit together at a fire and smoke with people, if you know that they have stolen cattle and cooked the meat on that fire. You may not eat the meat of the hare or the jackal, or light your pipe at a fire on which jackal meat has been cooked. Only in case of utmost necessity may you eat zebra or dassie meat. You may also not eat the flesh of those animals which do not chew the cud and have not cloven hooves. You must not catch a goat by the leg and steal its milk. You may not touch a carcase. You must not murder, steal, or lie, fornicate or commit adultery. You must respect age. Otherwise you will become ill." It is probable that in formulating these rules of observance Olpp was to some extent influenced by Old Testament ideas, as in the reference to animals which do not chew the cud, etc. There is no other mention of such a food taboo among the Naman. At the same time there is no doubt that the instruction of the initiate included rules of this nature, and Hahn corroborates some at least of those mentioned by Olpp by his statement that boys when they became of age were told not to lie or steal, and not to ill-treat the other sex or commit rape.[1]

881 [262] These precepts are impressed upon the boy every day over a period of one or two months. During the whole of this time the boy is allowed to drink only cow's milk, of which he must consume great quantities daily; should he taste any other food, all that is past of the ceremony must be repeated. At the end of the seclusion another animal is slaughtered and its meat eaten by the boy and his teacher. *All the meat left over from this meal must be burned,* [304] together with the bones, horns, and claws. Then the old man makes several horizontal cuts, 4–6 cm. long, on the breast of the boy, and rubs ashes into the wounds, so that a permanent blue scar is produced.[2] This operation over, the boy is taken by his teacher, accompanied by another of the old men as witness, to the river or waterhole. Here the boy kneels down and touches the water with his mouth, and then the old man hits the water with a stick, so that it splashes up in the face of the boy. The object of this rite, according to Olpp, is to frighten and splash away "the evil heart of the boy"; but there

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[1] Op. cit., 18.

[2] Campbell (loc. cit.) states, however, that this scarification is made at the beginning of the seclusion, which lasts for eight days. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Nama transition rites this would seem to be the more correct view, and the period of seclusion probably lasts only until the wounds have healed. It is almost certain that Olpp has confused the order of the rites.

can be little doubt that it merely represents the ceremonial reintroduction of the boy to water, just as in all the other rites of this nature 881
the person undergoing the rite must be reintroduced to water.
Campbell's version of the rite is that the entrails of the animal killed
at the beginning of the ceremony are dried and pounded to powder,
which is mixed with water and then rubbed all over the boy. The
latter is then in the presence of the whole kraal declared to be a man.

With this rite the initiation is brought to an end. The boy is 885
now a *doro-aob*, a man allowed to sit at the fire (*doro*) and eat in
the company of the other men of the camp. As such he is bound to
observe various usages with regard to eating. Some of these have 783
already been noted in Olpp's list of precepts, but he adds a few others. 784
If it happens, for example, that while the meat for the *doro* men is on
the fire a dog unexpectedly snatches a piece from it, then all the
meat becomes impure, and another animal must be slaughtered.
Again, a pot in which hare's flesh has previously been cooked must
first be cleaned out with fire before it can be used by the men, and
in any case it must not be used if an entirely new pot can be procured.
Any man violating these prohibitions, and, for example, eating hare's
flesh, whether because of necessity and excessive hunger or simply
without noticing, may not again eat with the other *doro* men until he
has been purified. He may not even light his pipe at a fire at which *doro*
meat is being cooked, but must fetch a light from another place,
if he has no matches. For the rite of purification a friend must
give him a young lamb, which he slaughters himself. The blood
of the lamb is then boiled and handed to him by his friend; if he
cannot drink it all, the remainder must be buried in the ground.
Next he washes himself with the contents of the stomach, and then
he and his friend consume the flesh of the lamb. After this meal
he may once more eat together with the other men. Anybody
sinning for the third time in breaking these taboos, adds Olpp, is
cast altogether out of the company of the *doro* men; but no indication
is given as to his future lot.

Anderson also mentions the taboo on hare's flesh, adding that 784
it is forbidden even to come into contact with a fire on which a hare
has been cooked. If a man breaks the rule, he is not infrequently 885
banished from the kraal, but on the payment of a fine may be readmitted to the community.[1] Another obligation, mentioned by
Albrecht, is that grown-up men must refrain from milking a cow,

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[1] *Lake Ngami*, 328-9; cf. Wikar, op. cit., 118.

784 since this is beneath their dignity, and anyone " who condescends to
885 perform this part of the domestic tasks " would be expelled from
the company of the men.[1]

783 It will be noticed that among both the Cape Hottentots and the
Naman the essential feature of the boys' initiation rites seems to
881 be the fact that it gives him the privilege and right of henceforth
885 associating on equal terms with the mature men of the community.
This privilege is apparently of some significance, for we find that whoever violates any of the customary norms of conduct is not permitted to mix again freely in the company of the men until he has been purified. This exclusion may perhaps be due to the ritual impurity in which the man finds himself, and which will make it dangerous for him to associate with the others. At the same time it suggests that the *doro* men form a distinct social group within the community; and Kolb's general statement that men and women among the Cape Hottentots habitually ate apart is of some value in this connection, as lending support to the possibility that there was in Hottentot life a well-defined alignment of the community with the men on the one side, and the women and children, including uninitiated boys, on the other. But on this point we have not nearly enough concrete information.

881 It is worth noting also that these rites are fundamentally different
from the corresponding ones among the Bushmen. In both cases,
171 it is true, we have seclusion, and the form of bodily mutilation is
scarification; but even the nature and purpose of the scarification, as Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot rites shows, are markedly different, while the place of seclusion also differs. The Bushman boys, again, are initiated in groups, the rites are intimately connected with hunting, and they also serve to introduce the boys to the tribal religious mysteries. The Hottentot boys, on the other hand, are initiated individually, and the rites do not appear to have any connection with either hunting or religious mysteries. The moral rules and the food restrictions imposed upon the boys cannot be regarded in the same light as the revelation of *Huwe* to the Bushman boys. The Hottentots, as we shall see, also believe in supernatural beings, somewhat similar in nature even to those of the Bushmen, but there is nothing at all to indicate that these beings are revealed to the boys at initiation.

The Hottentot puberty rites for girls also differ considerably from those of all the Bushmen except the Heikum. In the case of the latter the general resemblance to the Hottentot rites is so marked—the powdering of the boys' scrota by the girl is especially noteworthy in this context—that one is definitely inclined to postulate Hottentot influence here. In the case of the other North-Western tribes, the central feature of the girls' ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is not found among the Hottentots, while on the other hand, the elaborate *!nau* restrictions and reintroduction rites present among the latter have not been reported at all of the Bushmen. The seclusion ritual of the Cape Bushmen, and the beliefs connecting young maidens with the dangerous properties of rain and water, seem more in line with the Hottentot ceremony, but the data bearing upon the Bushman rites and beliefs is too fragmentary to justify any definite assertion of similarity.

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[1] "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 204.

CHAPTER XI

ECONOMIC LIFE

LAND TENURE

178 423 THE extension of European settlement and control in South Africa and the resultant breakdown in the tribal organization of the Hottentots have had as one of their first consequences the fact that independent tribal possession of land among the latter has long ceased to exist. At the present time the vast majority of the Hottentots are scattered far and wide over the country, without any definite tribal allegiance at all, still less with any definite tribal territory. It is only quite recently that reserves have at last been set aside in South-West Africa for the remnants of certain tribes, such as the Berseba Hottentots, the Bondelswarts, and the Swartboois. But the system of land tenure prevailing here can hardly be regarded as identical with that which existed when the tribes were still independent and living under their own culture. In the first place, these reserves are under the control of the European administration, and then also the Hottentots have changed profoundly in many of their habits and ideas, as a result of long intercourse with the Europeans, and some of them have even taken in a small way to agriculture. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the descriptions of the earlier writers in order to learn what were the laws and customs of the Hottentots regarding the tenure of land before they were so greatly affected by the influences of white civilization.

423 619 166 The Hottentots in their old form of life derived the bulk of their subsistence partly from their flocks and herds, partly from the products of the chase. Land, therefore, was of value to them chiefly as pasture and hunting ground. It is clear from the accounts of the early Dutch and other travellers that every Hottentot tribe in the Cape had its own territory, into which strangers might not intrude for hunting or pasture without first obtaining permission. There is, however, no concrete information as to the demarcation and control of these territories. The reading of history shows that the Hottentot tribes moved about freely over the country in search of pasture, and the boundaries between the different tribes, as far as can be ascertained,

do not seem to have been at all clearly defined. It appears rather that in the early days of the Dutch settlement the different Hottentot tribes were situated far apart, each tribe forming certain centres round which it migrated, and claiming as its territory all the land where its members were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. But the right to this land existed only as long as no stronger community disputed it. From the earliest historical times fights for pasture lands are recorded as occurring among the Hottentots, the inevitable result being that a dispossessed tribe would have to move on to new lands. In any case the pasturing of their cattle in a country so subject to long droughts as South Africa undoubtedly occasioned continual and sometimes even extensive movements, so that anything in the nature of rigidly-defined tribal areas probably did not exist.[1] 423 619 166 [721]

In South-West Africa, where grass is more easily found than water, stress was laid particularly on the possession of waterholes, and little care was otherwise taken to define the boundaries between the different tribes more clearly. Different fountains or pools in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes. This, Mrs. Hoernlé points out, did not mean that other people could not use the water, but that one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that members of any other tribe intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so. She quotes in this connection an old document in which the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his waterholes. He gives them permission to stay, but states firmly that this does not mean he gives over the fountain to them. "The water is my water," he says again and again.[2] 423 619

With the coming of the Orlams from the south and the pressure of the OvaHerero advancing from the north, territorial disputes in Great Namaqualand became more frequent, and increasing emphasis was laid on the recognition of tribal boundaries. Intrusion was not readily allowed, but, on the contrary, deeply resented. If a tribe wished to move into the territory of another, application had first to be made to the chief of the resident tribe. If the two were on friendly terms, permission might be given freely; but if relations were not too good, a tribute was generally demanded as acknowledgment of the resident 423 619 648

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[1] Cf. Stow, *Native Races*, 238 sqq.; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap in de Hollandse Tijd*, vols. I and II *passim*.

[2] "Social Organization of the Nama," 6. The document referred to is published in *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1854, p. 155.

423 619 648 tribe's ownership and supremacy over the area. And so we see, for instance, that the Orlams when they penetrated north of the Orange River found the indigenous Nama tribes tolerating their presence only on condition that they recognized the jurisdiction of the chief in whose territory they settled, and that as an outward mark of submission they paid him an annual tribute of cattle or horses in return for the right to live and graze their herds on his lands. The effect of this restriction may easily be imagined. No sooner had the newcomers [721] settled down and become accustomed to their surroundings than they refused to pay any further tribute. In the inevitable wars that followed the Nama were no match for their better armed and more experienced adversaries. Before very many years had passed the order of things was reversed, and the Orlams were dominant, while almost all the indigenous tribes either were absorbed or retained their lands on the same terms of tribute and vassalage as they had formerly exacted.[1]

619 423 486 How jealous was the regard for boundary and territorial rights in these days may be seen from the following incident. In 1889 the //Hobesen chief Hendrik Witbooi rather went out of his way while travelling from Keetmanshoep to Gibeon, and passed with his men over a corner of the lands claimed by the Bondelswarts of Warmbad. Whereupon Willem Christian, the Bondelswart chief, wrote him a strong letter of protest. "Such circumstances," says Willem, "are likely to cause dissatisfaction"; and if the "dear captain" required anything in his area it was only right first to apply for permission to enter, and to await the *reply before doing anything. This would have* avoided "misunderstandings"; "for it is beyond my comprehension that one chief should enter another chief's area without notifying him and making a request."[2]

619 423 On the whole, therefore, it would seem that although every Hottentot tribe had a claim, established by long exploitation, over a certain stretch of land, other tribes might seek and obtain permission not only to pass through this territory, but even to make use of its water and pastures, on condition that the prior rights of the resident tribe were recognized and acknowledged. Permission might, of course, be refused, and sometimes was, when war would probably result if encroachment nevertheless took place. But the extensive wanderings of the different Cape Hottentot tribes in the early days of the Dutch settlement imply that here, at least, little objection was raised as a

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[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.* (Cd. 9146), 70, 73-4; Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 4.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76.

rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available 619
for all. 423

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but 775
little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains 769
that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should [782]
have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said :—

Ti //Nanuna !Hana	My ancestors' territory
/Gaise !khai ha te re	Run nicely to meet me
ahe mura	I see you first.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession *of the old tribal territory by contact* with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives 775
in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and 769
soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, 751
so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it
would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given 574
the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile */Hai /Nun* [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find 775
the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of 769
possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

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[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Nama", 319–20.

775 769 to encroachment upon the territory of another. There is unfortunately no other record of such usages to be observed when visiting a strange place, or linking up the occupation of land with supernatural agencies. Whether similar usages did exist among the Cape Hottentots, but have escaped observation, or whether in the case of the Naman, and especially of the Orlams, European ideas had completely overshadowed them in practice, cannot now be determined. Certainly the great freedom with which the Hottentots appear to have wandered from place to place, from their own territory into that of another tribe, does not argue in favour of any pronounced dread of the ghosts haunting such places, nor does the undoubted fact that disputes over the possession of land were frequent.

423 425 All the land claimed by a tribe was the common property of that tribe. It could under no circumstances become the property of an individual, nor was it the property of the chief; and it was generally regarded as inalienable. In the early Cape Records several instances are noted of land having been "sold" to the colonists by Hottentot chiefs. It is more than probable that such "sales" were looked upon by the natives themselves not as alienation but as the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase money" as analogous to tribute paid for this use. Even in more recent times, when the concepts of sale and purchase had become generally familiar to the Hottentots, the alienation of land to other tribes or peoples was extremely rare. The chief had no right to dispose of the land or of any portion of it without first obtaining the consent of the families under his rule, and the purchase money had to be divided equally amongst them.[1]

423 Every member of the tribe had a right as such to the use of its land, water, and grazing for himself, his family, and his stock. He could move freely over the tribal lands, and erect his hut wherever he pleased, without restriction or interference by the chief or anybody else. These rights, however, were merely those of usufruct, and in no case implied full ownership to the exclusion of others.[2] The only instance recorded of recognized private ownership of land or its resources occurs even to-day in the Nara bushveld of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. Here each Topnaar family has an hereditary claim to certain /nara bushes and their fruit. Trespass by other members of the tribe is reported to the chief and dealt with by him; but if the

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[1] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," [illegible]; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 77-8; Vedder, "The Nama," 141; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," [illegible].
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, [illegible]; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, [illegible].

thief is a Bergdama or a Bushman, he is tracked and simply shot down, 423 the chief as a rule taking no notice at all of such cases, and, where he does, never siding with the party of the thief.[1]

In the other Nama tribes there seem to have been no private rights 423 of this nature. In certain respects, however, there was a limitation to 224 unrestricted exploitation of the land and its resources by any member of the tribe. Hunting rights over the tribal land, for example, were 643 common to all, but the game was regarded as the herds of the chief. Anybody shooting big game was therefore expected to give him the head and the four lower legs of the animal, while of small game he received portions of the meat. Refusal to yield this tribute was punished. Pasture lands, again, were also common to all, but the chief could order certain grazing grounds to be vacated in order that they might be rested. His consent was also necessary if the inhabitants of any kraal wished to burn the veld shortly before the rainy season, so that when the first rains fell new juicy grass might spring up. These regulations, of course, do not involve interference with established personal rights, but are to be regarded rather as the exercise of recognized control vested in the chieftainship.[2]

In other directions we find recognition given to the prior rights of 423 an individual. If a man dug a well or opened a spring, it was regarded as under his special authority, and, after inspection by the chief, was 312 named after him. Every passer-by had to have his permission before using the water, but it was equally his duty to see that no stranger or his stock was denied access to it. Any man, again, who found a 425 swarm of wild bees in the cleft of a rock or in the hollow of a tree could acquire rights of ownership over their honey by breaking a few twigs and laying them in front of the hive. Whoever then ignored [685] this sign and took away the honey was regarded as a thief and had to recompense the owner. But here also the chief or the head of the kraal [643] exercised some measure of control. If the swarm was still young, it might not be molested, under penalty of punishment, and the owner was also punished if by extracting all the honey he caused the swarm to wander away elsewhere. Moreover, he was expected to give several good combs of the honey to the chief or the kraal head.[3] The private 423 rights casually acquired in this way should not, however, be confused in nature with those noted above to the *!nara* bushes, which are based on heredity and shared equally by all members of the tribe.

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., 291, 318.
[2] Wandres, op. cit., 673–4; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76. [3] Wandres, loc. cit.

LIVE STOCK

231 The unsettled nomadic life of the Hottentots is occasioned primarily by the ever-present need of grass and water for their live stock. The domestic animals upon whose milk and flesh they depend so largely for their subsistence are cattle, sheep, and goats. The cattle seem originally to have been of the large, straight-backed, long-horned type (*Bos aegyptiacus*), still found among the native peoples in the Horn of East Africa. They have, however, become considerably modified through mixture with other breeds, especially those introduced from Western and Northern Europe by the Dutch and other settlers, so that the original type can no longer be clearly distinguished. The sheep were fat-tailed, with scraggy hair rather than wool, but here, as well as in the case of the goat, the type now also shows mingled characteristics, owing to intermixture with other breeds.[1]

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177 It is a point of some interest, upon which Johnston comments, that the Hottentot root word for cattle, *goma-*, may possibly be derived from the Southern Bantu *-komo*, while *biri-*, for goat, may be the early Bantu *buri*, *budi*, and even the root *gu-*, for sheep, can be traced to a Bantu source. From this he argues that "obviously the goat first, then the ox and the sheep, were brought to them from the north by Bantu or Nilotic negroes".[2] This is certainly true of the goat, which was not originally owned by the Hottentots and only acquired by them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came into contact.[3] We know, however, that within historical times at least the Hottentots at the Cape had cattle and sheep long before they came into contact with the Bantu. All their traditions, moreover, indicate that their pastoral mode of life was developed before their ancestors came south. Whether they acquired their domestic animals from the Bantu in East Africa is a more debatable question. In the absence of definite historical evidence, the argument from philological resemblances may seem plausible. It must be remembered, however, that cattle and sheep as domestic animals were introduced into Africa by the Hamites, from whom even the Bantu got them[4]; and the undoubted Hamitic

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[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 235-6, 263; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 237, 263 sq., 268.

[2] "[illegible] and [illegible] in South-West Africa," *[illegible]*, [illegible] (1918), [illegible].

[3] It may be noted in this connection that the usual Hottentot name for the BeChuana is *Biriqua*, i.e. goat people.

[4] Cf. Adametz, *Herkunft und Wanderungen der Hamiten, erschlossen aus ihren Haustierrassen*, 1920, *passim*.

affinities of the Hottentot languages would therefore incline one to 231
look for a direct Hamitic influence in respect of the domestic animals 177
also. A more careful historical study of the domestic animals of Africa than has yet been made is, however, necessary before this question can be settled. Any conclusions advanced without adequate historical support can only be regarded as hypothetical.

In the early days of the European settlement at the Cape the 231
Hottentots were extremely rich in cattle. Van Riebeeck, the founder
of the Dutch settlement, states, for example, that at times the land 178
around Table Bay was as thickly covered with cattle as with grass—an exaggeration which must have had at least some substantial basis. And in 1661 the Nama chief Akembie, living along the Olifants River, was described as having no fewer than 4,000 head of cattle and 3,000 sheep in his kraals.[1] In course of time the tribes bordering on the Dutch settlement gradually lost their herds through barter with the Europeans, but even in the first decades of the nineteenth century herds comprising hundreds of cattle and sheep were by no means a rarity. Ultimately, with the steady expansion of the Europeans, the Hottentots in the Cape became dispossessed of both their cattle and their land, and their pastoral life was perforce abandoned for one of service with white farmers. In South-West Africa the Naman remained a predominantly pastoral people until after the rebellion against the Germans, when the tribes were no longer allowed to keep "great stock", i.e. horned cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats. Here also the great majority of the people are now servants in the employ of the Europeans and no longer live independently with their herds. The old pastoral life has fallen more and more into decay, and at the present time is still practised by only a small proportion of them.

Every family among the independent Hottentots usually has its 231
own cattle, sheep, and goats. There are no common herds, although as a rule the families living together will pasture their animals in common. Everybody knows the animals he possesses, so that confusion is hardly likely to occur. The tendency noted by Schultze for a man to collect animals of the same colour, even bartering stock with others towards this end, probably renders discrimination still easier. Schultze mentions also that cattle are marked in special ways by cutting, perforating, or lopping the ears, but he does not state whether each owner has a distinctive mark of this sort. Nowadays each ox and cow

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[1] Godée-Molsbergen, Reizen in de Kaap, I, 96.

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Nowadays each ox and cow

234 is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers;
52 formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or
physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use
[192] among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for
sheep.[1]

231 Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child
425 in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after
birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to
438 daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the OvaHerero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

231 Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing
425 cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal
method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use
465 among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

234 The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the
462 Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

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[1] Op. cit., 264-5.

[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 677-8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 78-9; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 40.

exceptionally by the men.[1] The milk secretion of the cows is periodical and dependent upon calving and the needs of the calf. The flow ceases when the calf is able to fend for itself; the cow then "becomes dry", as the Hottentots put it. In times of good pasture some cows may continue to yield milk up to shortly before the next calving; in dry years, on the other hand, many of them occasionally yield so little milk that the calf hungers, and milking for domestic purposes is naturally out of the question. At milking, done early in the morning and again when the cows have returned in the evening from pasture, the calves are first allowed to drink for a while. Then the woman comes up with her wooden pail, drives away the calf, and after binding together the hind legs of the cow to keep it still procedes to do the milking. All the cows are milked at one sitting. If a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, it is induced to do so by the substitution either of another calf sewn up in the skin of the dead one or merely of the stuffed skin, or else somebody stands behind it and blows hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place.[2] 234 [162]

The herding of the cattle is simplified to some extent by the fact that permanent water is found at only a few spots, known to both men and cattle, and both also know where water is to be found after good rains. These spots usually serve as the sites for the encampment. The oxen, only occasionally required for riding or for draught, need no special care in herding. They take their drink at the water, then go out to graze in the veld and rove at large, returning about every other day or two to drink. If wanted for work they can then easily be secured; if not, they rest in the camp during the remainder of the day, and then in the cool of the night proceed to the veld as before. The cows are driven to pasture every morning after milking, and left to graze unattended, till the attraction of the young calves brings them home to the kraal of their own accord at night. Old cows no longer calving are kept for slaughter, and allowed to graze in the same way as the oxen. They go further into the veld than the mother animals, and there find better grass and pasture longer. The calves are placed at night, after drinking, in a special enclosure of thorn bushes or stone, open to the sky, while their mothers sleep freely in the vicinity. In 233 [312] [417]

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[1] In this respect the Hottentots differ fundamentally from the great majority of the cattle-keeping Bantu tribes, among whom milking is essentially the task of the men, the women having very little indeed to do with the cattle, even, in some cases, being ritually prohibited from all contact with them. [13]

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 297-8; Kolb, op. cit., 79-80; von François, op. cit., 238.

233 the early morning they are again allowed to drink, then are driven out into the veld in a different direction from the cows. Here they remain under the continuous watch of the herd-boys, who drive them back to the kraal in the evening. Only when a calf grows really thin is it allowed to accompany its mother in the veld.[1]

Occasionally, if the pasture round the settlement is poor, the cattle are driven far into the veld under the care of a few herdsmen, who keep them at outlying posts for weeks and even months. A wealthy cattle-owner may have several of these cattle-posts, which either he or his chief herdsman inspects from time to time by personal visits.[2] As a rule, however, each family remains and moves with its own herds, sometimes even acting independently of the rest in the search for water and grass.

[324 It may be noted here that herdsmen often carry as charms pieces of a certain shrub called /abb. If cattle have gone astray one of these pieces is burned in the fire, in the belief that this will keep the animals safe till they can be found the next morning, and will prevent their being destroyed by wild beasts.[3]

No attempt is made to control the breeding of the cattle. The bull is at all times allowed free access to the herd, in the veld and at water. The months at the end of the second rainy season, March and April, when the pasture is at its best, are the favourite time for jumping, and the bull then follows close on the heels of the cows. At the beginning of the dry season it separates from the herd and roves in the veld till the next rains, only coming to the fountain when there is not enough water elsewhere. Its movements are apparently quite unrestricted.[4]

The proportion of bulls is nowhere indicated, but is almost certainly quite small, since a large number of oxen are required for domestic purposes. The young bulls are gelded when their horns are just beginning to show. The Cape Hottentots, according to Kolb, bound the scrotum closely and tightly, so as to cut off communication with the spermatic vessels, the calf then being allowed to run in that condition till the testicles rotted off.[5] Schultze was unable to learn the method of gelding employed by the Naman. He mentions, however, that according to his informants the successful "castration" ("Kastrierung") of a number of calves was formerly celebrated by a feast, consisting of the meat of a specially-slaughtered calf cooked

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., 79; von François, op. cit., 227-8; Schultze, op. cit., 258-60; [illegible], *[illegible] and Adventures in Great Namaqualand*, 83-4.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 260; Wandres, op. cit., 618.

[3] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 80.

[4] Schultze, op. cit., 260, 275.

[5] Op. cit., 79.

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together with the pounded testicles of the new oxen.[1] A similar 233
feast was noted among the Cape Hottentots by Jan Hartogh in 1707.[2]

The young oxen are trained to carry burdens or to be ridden. The 492
pack-oxen are used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with the few household utensils, which are bound securely on them with "rieme" (long thongs of raw hide). The riding-oxen are guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit. Instead of a saddle a sheepskin is thrown over the back of the animal and fastened by a thong drawn tight round the body. No stirrups are used, but both men and women ride the animals with ease, being accustomed to do so from childhood. "One can travel comfortably and securely in this way for a great distance and over rugged mountains," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "provided one is not in too much of
a hurry." Kolb relates also that special oxen were taught to guard [233]
and keep the sheep together while they were grazing; such an ox, he says, is swiftly obedient to the voice of its master, and flies round the pasture ground to bring back within proper limits those of the flock that are straying off! No stranger is allowed to come within range of the pasture ground; the ox drives off the intruder and gives the robber
a rude reception. The Hottentot oxen, he continues, are even taught [726]
to combat in a body, like a regiment of elephants, against the enemies of the nation. This statement, at least, is confirmed by other observers, but one cannot resist doubting if oxen were ever really used as sheep-dogs. Nowadays, at any rate, they are generally employed for the far more prosaic task of drawing wagons, and have been almost entirely superseded by the horse for riding.[3]

The goats and the sheep, like the calves, are herded by day in the 233
veld, and kept at night in the kraal. Single goats or small flocks need no care, and easily accustom themselves to returning of their own accord at night. Bigger flocks are put under the care of a herd-boy, who guards them from danger and theft, and sees to it that they do not spread too widely over the veld. He also has to collect them during the midday heat under some trees or a rock, where they may rest in the shade. The lambs while still small remain continuously in a special kraal, and are allowed to go to their mothers only before the

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[1] Op. cit., [illegible].

[2] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, ii, [illegible].

[3] Schultze, op. cit., [illegible]; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," [illegible]; Kolb, op. cit., [illegible]; cf. Barrow, [illegible] quoted in Cullen, *Romance of S. Africa*, [illegible]; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, [illegible]; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, [illegible].

233 morning and evening milking. The bigger lambs, weaned by rubbing the udders of the mother with dung, go with the flock, and so do the rams.

231 262 [231] The goat is nowadays the principal source of milk supply to the poorer Hottentots, and is also the principal slaughter animal. In both respects it has quite superseded the sheep, which is now of little importance in Hottentot life. Its milk is rarely used, while its wool is valued only in the skin, used largely for making karosses. Its meat, however, is preferred to that of the goat, the fat of the tail being particularly relished.[1] It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This in all probability, suggests Mrs. Hoernlé, is due to the fact that it is not one of the original domestic animals of the Hottentots.[2]

231 The value placed upon their domestic animals by the Hottentots is reflected in the ceremonial life of the people. We have already noted, for example, how in the remarriage ceremonies the bridegroom, after his seclusion, must sprinkle the cattle and sheep with water before he is again allowed to go among them as usual; how menstruating women and others in the condition of */nau* must abstain from milking, and afterwards be ceremonially reintroduced to it; and how girls passing through the puberty rites are conducted round the kraal in order to touch the male animals and confer potency upon them. In all these and similar rites we see the expression of the belief that the well-being of the stock depends upon healthy conditions being maintained in the community. Any breach with the traditions of the past, any toleration of slackness in carrying out the restrictions established for all contingencies in the life of the people, is bound [783] to affect the stock adversely. Great care then is taken to keep all pollution from the cattle kraal, and the animals are included in any lustrations or other purification ceremonies that take place. We [782] have also noted the use of female cattle and sheep in the important sacramental meals of the people, and there are in addition, as we shall see, certain occasions on which such animals are sacrificed directly to the tribal deities.

231 782 Kolb further describes two ceremonies among the Cape Hottentots specially connected with the live-stock.[3] The one takes place when the sheep are seized with distemper. As soon as the outbreak is noted, one of the old men is specially selected to slaughter a healthy sheep every day for three days in succession. The meat of this

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., [illegible].
[2] "The Conception of /nau," [illegible].
[3] Op. cit., [illegible].

animal is eaten by the old men, the young men are given the blood and the entrails, and the women feed upon the broth. After the meal each group apart spends the rest of the day and the following night in singing and dancing. "These are acts of atonement for their offences against *Gounja*, and which they trust will render *Gounja* propitious to them and their cattle." If the distemper ceases after this ceremony, the people become wild with joy, believing that "*Gounja*" is pleased with their offerings. But if it does not immediately cease, they either lay the blame upon the sacrificer or suppose that their offerings were not good enough. Another old man is then selected and the ceremony repeated in the same way, fatter sheep being slaughtered. Or else it is decided that the sheep have caught the disease from some ill quality of the pasture; and if this opinion prevails the settlement is immediately removed elsewhere. 231 782

The other ceremony consists in driving the sheep at certain times through the smoke of a fire. Early on the day determined upon, the women milk the cows and bring the milk to the men, who must drink it all. The women themselves may not drink of it, nor even spill any drop, lest the whole procedure prove ineffective. When it has all been consumed, some of the men go to bring the sheep together to the place where the rite is to be performed, while others busy themselves in preparing the fire. This is made in the open, and thickly covered with green branches, so that a dense cloud of smoke is produced. When the sheep then come up, a number of men range themselves closely in a long row on both sides of the fire; and the animals are driven through this lane. As soon as one has been forced through, the rest follow, jumping over the fire and passing through the smoke. Great jubilation is raised when everything has passed off successfully, for it is believed that now all will be well. The explanation Kolb claims to have received was that this custom originated in the fear that predatory animals, especially wild dogs, would come among the flocks and work havoc. To prevent this occurring, said his informant, the sheep are driven through the smoke, for as long as its smell clings to them the dogs will keep away. Long experience had taught the ancestors of the people that this measure effectively protected the sheep, and it was therefore still kept up among them. 231

This particular ceremony does not appear to have been noted by any other writer, and it is difficult to decide how far Kolb's

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231 description can be relied upon. The annual rain ceremony of the Naman, as we shall see, offers certain points of resemblance to it; but as there are also very considerable differences of detail the two ceremonies cannot be connected, unless we assume that the greater part of Kolb's description is either erroneous or, a criticism sometimes but not always justifiably advanced against him, fictitious.

In addition to cattle and sheep the Hottentots have from the earliest historical times also kept dogs. These are described by Schinz as of medium size, with short hair, long snouts, and drooping ears, and apparently allied in race to the Pariah dogs of the Near East. They are useful about the house and protect the cattle from wild beasts. They are easily familiarized with the herds by means of milk. They are also employed in the chase, especially against the jackal and hyena. They do not seem to be specially valued, however, and are never cared for properly.[1]

[177 / 492] From the Europeans the Hottentots have acquired the horse, which has now almost wholly superseded the ox for riding purposes. Fairly early in their old wars and raiding expeditions the horse already played an important rôle, and nowadays it is still largely used in hunting. Many of the horses, like the oxen, are allowed to range freely in the veld, where they generally keep to some favourite pasture ground. The fountain at the encampment is usually, however, the only place where they can drink for many miles round, and if wanted at any time they are easily caught when coming every other day or so for water. Or, should they not come to the fountain, as sometimes happens after rains have fallen and they can drink in the veld, their resort is generally known, and one man mounted can drive the troop home to the encampment. Mares in foal are carefully guarded, and are usually kept at night in the kraal, as a protection against the leopard and other wild beasts.[2]

HUNTING AND FISHING

Weapons and Methods

262 As the Hottentots rely upon their herds mainly for milk, cattle are seldom slaughtered for food, save on festive and ceremonial occasions, although all that die a natural death are eaten. The greater part of their meat supply the people obtain by hunting and

[1] Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, [illegible]; Schultze, op. cit., [illegible].

[2] Schultze, op. cit., [illegible]; [illegible], op. cit., [illegible].

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ishing, which are still practised to a considerable extent where conditions permit. [262] Hunting by pursuit has now taken on a European 224 colour, owing to the introduction of firearms and the horse. In 411 he old days it was carried on mainly with the bow and arrow and with the spear. Of these weapons the bow took a secondary place. Like that of the Bushmen it was crudely made from a single piece [824] f elastic wood, generally *Grewia flava*, and strung with a cord twisted rom antelope sinew. The arrows in general were similar to those f the Bushmen. The type most commonly found had a thin, riangular point of iron, fitted in a notch in the end of a short bone oreshaft, which again was inserted into a main shaft of reed, some ighteen inches long and feathered at the butt. They were often [823] coated with poison, usually prepared from the condensed milk sap f the *Toxicodendron capense*, and were carried in quivers made from he hollow bark of the *Aloe dichotoma* or from ox or antelope hide. The principal weapon, however, was the spear. This had a narrow ointed iron blade, some six inches long and fixed by means of a tang o a long wooden shaft tapering to a point at the butt. The kieri r throwing-stick, a short straight club knobbed at the end, was lso generally used.[1] With the exception of the latter, these weapons ave been completely superseded by European firearms. It is nteresting to note, however, that among the Naman of to-day bows nd arrows are still used by the children as toys.[2]

The Hottentot methods of hunting, as described by the older 224 writers, seem on the whole to have been much the same as those of he Bushmen. The Hottentot hunters are praised highly for their kill in stalking game, and are said to have been so light-footed that [481] hey could outrun the fleetest animals. The game was chased in he heat of the sun, when the hot sand burned its footpads and wore t out, till at last it was an easy mark for the arrow of the hunter. r, again, the solitary hunter would proceed to a spot whence he ould survey the country around him. Should anything be sufficiently ear, he looked for a covert of shrubs, trees, or the sandy bed of a iver, taking care to keep if possible to leeward, lest the animal should cent him and decamp. Along this covert he stealthily crept, often n hands and knees, till opposite the game; then quietly raising is head he would take deliberate aim and shoot his poisoned arrow.

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., [illegible]; Le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, [illegible]; Barrow, *Travels in Africa*, i, [illegible]; Thunberg, *Travels in . . . Africa*, ii, [illegible].

[2] Schultze, op. cit., [illegible]. Schinz, op. cit., [illegible].

224 As the wounded animal ran off he leisurely followed, showing a remarkable skill in reading and distinguishing its tracks; and when finally he came up it was an easy task to finish off his quarry with the spear.

Big game, such as elephants, rhinoceros, and giraffe, were often directly attacked in the open. These animals, as well as elands and quaggas, were hunted by large parties of men armed with spears; and when the wounded animal turned upon its assailant, other spears were hurled against it from behind; as it faced about to ward off the new danger, a renewed attack was made upon it from the rear, so that it was constantly kept at bay until, exhausted by its wounds, it fell helpless to the ground. Or when wild animals had raided the herds and the flocks, all the men of the kraal would unite in a drive hunt, dividing themselves into bands to discover the haunts of the animal they wished to destroy. On finding its retreat they formed a circle round it, closing in till they came within bowshot; then, after wounding the animal with their arrows, they were able to come up and dispatch it with the spear.[1]

Even at the present time, when guns and the horse have made hunting far easier, the Hottentot still shows a considerable amount of real ability in the pursuit. In stalking down game his intimate knowledge of their habits is readily evident. With considerable caution he will approach the gemsbok, and then patiently wait till in the midday heat it goes to lie down in the shade of a bush. Quietly he steals up towards it, and once within range he makes no mistake with his bullet. Sometimes he finds the nest of the ostrich, and knowing that before long the bird will return, he conceals himself in the nearest bush, fires as it passes or when it has settled on the nest, and thus secures a double prize. He will patiently lie in ambush in the same way near a waterhole for big antelopes or zebras, or outside their holes for the smaller burrowing animals. Under cover of his flocks the herdsman steals up to the steenbok, innocently pasturing with the sheep and the goats, and kills it with a dexterous stone-throw; or with the aid of his dogs he runs down the grysbok and the klipspringer. Drive-hunts are employed to root out the hares, which are knocked down with the kieri. Where he possesses a horse, the hunter takes his gun and rides out into the veld, where whatever first offers—ostrich, zebra, eland, or smaller antelope—is closely pursued till near enough to be shot. Sometimes large hunting parties are organized, when nearly all the men of a kraal leave in their wagons, with plenty of ammunition and their hunting horses, trusting to the success of the expedition for subsistence while away. Large sections of the country are partially invested, animals of all descriptions brought within a comparatively limited space, and great quantities shot. The flesh is then cut up into thin slices, sprinkled with salt, and dried in the shade and wind; and after several weeks have been passed in the veld, the Huntsmen return with their wagons loaded with the dried flesh of the ostrich, zebra, and various kinds of antelope, which afford food to the whole kraal, for a considerable time.[1]

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., [illegible]; Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," [illegible] and passim.

Some traps and snares, nooses and catches of all kinds are also made use of to waylay game. On some occasions, in former days, whole valleys were enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game from the heights into the valley below, which was staked and bushed across its whole breadth. At intervals the fence was broken, and here deep pitfalls were made. Since the fence was too high for the animals to jump, they were obliged to make for the gaps, where they tumbled into pits. Similar pitfalls were dug for elephants, rhinoceros, zebras, elands, and other big game in the paths to waterholes or along river banks. These pits were about 6 to 8 feet deep, and some 4 feet in diameter. A sharp-pointed stake was planted in the centre, the pointed extremity being on a level with the ground surrounding the pit, the surface of which was lightly covered and spread over with leaves intermingled with sand. As the hole was too small, the animal only fell in with its forelegs, thus causing the stake to enter its throat or its breast; it was thus unable to get away, for the more it struggled, the more it became fixed. The hunters then coming up killed it with their spears, or mounting upon its neck they knocked it down with stones or opened a vein with their knives to make it bleed to death. Running nooses similar to those of the Bushmen are still employed to catch small antelope, such as the klipspringer, duiker, and steenbok, as well as hares and dassies, while heavy falling traps of stone secure the jackal and hyena. Still more finely constructed are the falling traps for catching porcupines and small mammals. They are so made that the animal in attempting to get at the bait disturbs a horizontal peg; a small vertical peg is thereby released which, falling away, sets free an uppermost peg fixed between the stone slab and the support; the

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[1] [illegible], op. cit., 80-1; Schultze, op. cit., 188-90.

224 stone falls down with force and buries the unfortunate animal beneath its weight.[1]

226 227 Fishing was also practised wherever possible, especially by the impoverished people. As tackle they used hooks of animal's teeth or of bone, nets knotted of bark fibre, basket traps of reed, and a pointed stick answering the purpose of a spear. At a later period their hooks were made of iron, and their lines twisted of animal sinews or catgut. [484] They had no boats, but they were fearless swimmers and boldly threw themselves into the sea to reach a neighbouring rock, from which they fished with hook and line or harpooned the fish with their long wooden spears attached to a line. In rivers, creeks, or inlets they waded into the water to some distance from the bank, and when they saw a fish swimming within their reach pierced it with their pointed stick. Sometimes weirs were made in favourable situations along the shore, enclosing considerable spaces left nearly dry at low tide. In a similar way baskets were sometimes stretched across a stream in a shallow part. Men would stand behind these, while others waded up stream from a point below, driving the fish before them to the basket traps, where the men standing behind would then catch and throw them on the shore.[2]

Special Observances

224 As in the case of the Bushmen, hunting among the Hottentots is bound up with a variety of social usages and special observances. We have already noted that among the Naman, for example, the chief claims a part of every animal secured in the chase, a tribute sanctioned to him by the belief that the game are his herds. But even the remainder of the flesh cannot be appropriated for himself by the hunter; if game is brought home the whole camp collects about the house of the possessor till all the meat is consumed. This sharing of food, however, is not restricted to game; it is, as we have observed, a custom running all through Hottentot life.

224 312 More interesting perhaps are the usages specifically connected with hunting by pursuit, and reflecting the danger and above all the uncertainty with which this method is accompanied. If a man is out hunting, says Hahn, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive, for should it go out her husband will have no luck. If she does not like to make a fire,

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., [illegible]; Kolb, op. cit., [illegible]; Wilson, op. cit., [illegible].

[2] Kolb, op. cit., [illegible]; Morrell, *Narrative of Four Voyages*, [illegible]; [illegible], "South-West Africa," [illegible].

then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, 224
and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise [372]
the husband will return empty-handed.[1] Schultze mentions also
an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant [834]
every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer allowed to take part in the hunt.[2]

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, 224
otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the
same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by 825
circumlocutions, the former as *gei* /*gab*, big brother, the latter as *[illegible]*, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the
lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with [753]
a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will suffer from lumbago! Anybody, again, who has killed a dassie must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the animal; this, it is believed, will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare 224
crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs 825
in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, 787
if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is assured of success; and again the korhaan, if it does not fly far from him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away he had better return.[3]

These usages and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment 224
of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however, we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control based on experience and technical efficiency, these ritual observances and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good results or protect him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

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[1] [illegible]

[2] Op. cit., [illegible]

[3] Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," [illegible]; Hahn, op. cit., [illegible]; Schultze, op. cit., [illegible]

224 mental stability under conditions which would otherwise demoralise him by despair, anxiety, and fear. It is suggestive by way of contrast that, both here and among the Bushmen, no usages and beliefs of this nature appear to be bound up with the methods of trapping and snaring, where the pursuit is certain, reliable and well under the control of rational methods and technological processes.

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Another usage mentioned by Olpp is that any man killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or hippopotamus must slaughter a sheep or a goat; only the hunter may eat of this meat, while all the others present may eat of the meat of the fallen animal.[1] This usage, as recorded by him, appears to be the remnant of what was formerly an extremely important ceremony in Hottentot life—the reception of a man into the ranks of the hunters. A detailed description of this ceremony is given by Wikar, who was himself able to take part in it. He relates[2] that once, when he and some Naman had killed a rhinoceros, one of the young men with them asked to become the "master killer" ("baas doodmaker") of the animal, although in reality he had had nothing to do with its actual death. His wish granted, the young man took his spear, and plunged it into the dead beast, until it was covered with blood. Then he stood aside and directed how the best meat should be cut off for him for the coming sacramental meal ("andersmaken"). The animal was slit open, the entrails extracted and thrown over his head. The meat was then cut up and brought to the fire, the reserved portions being appropriated by the "master killer", and the festivities began. When the meat was sufficiently cooked, it was shared out by the young man to everybody present who had previously undergone the same ceremony; [372] no one else was allowed to take part in the meal. The fire used for cooking the meat could not be taken away and used at other places, nor could anybody even light his pipe with it; and when the cooking was all over it was completely extinguished. The sinews of the rhinoceros were given to the initiate, and carefully kept by him until he would be able to get a sheep and complete the ceremony. Now also his face was smeared all over with potblack, then wiped clean in a few places, leaving his features "prettily ornamented" with cross-like designs.

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[illegible]
Later on, when they came to a neighbouring village, the initiate obtained a sheep by barter. Then all the spears of the other men entitled to take part in the meal were held close together in a bundle,

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] "Berigt aan den Heer van Plettenberg," [illegible]

and on this he broke the leg of the sheep. The animal was then 224
slaughtered, the spears heaped up against a bush, and the entrails of the sheep hung over all their points. Next the young man lay down on his back. A stripe was drawn over his stomach from the navel [304]
to the breast-bone, and along it from thirty to forty small cuts were made close together in a row, the blood flowing freely. "If the knife is blunt," adds Wikar realistically, "they must cut two or three times on the same spot, then indeed he makes a wry face, but this doesn't help." Once through this operation the young man was [301
a full-fledged hunter; "he had merited his laurels," as Wikar puts it, 554]
and was allowed by way of token to twist the sinews of the rhinoceros through beads and shells which he then wore as a bracelet on his arm. The slaughtered sheep was now completely eaten, skin and all, but the bones and other inedible parts were burned or buried, to keep the dogs or children from getting at them. With this meal the ceremony was over. From now on the initiate might "eat with" on all similar occasions.

This ceremony, Wikar continues, is performed in the same way whenever an elephant, hippopotamus, or buffalo is killed. It is a fixed rule among the Naman that when they go out hunting the man who first touches the animal with his spear, if only to scratch it, is regarded as the "master killer", even although another man may deal the actual death thrust. He can then go through the ceremony himself, or must hand over the privilege to one of his friends. In another 224
context Wikar states that the ceremony is held only when a man has 625
killed a beast of prey or other noxious animal, such as the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, or snake, and also the baboon, which is held to be the prototype of man ("dat is de oude slijden zijn mens by haar"). It does not take place on the killing of a giraffe, "wild horse" ("wilde paarde", ? wildebeest), hartebeest, etc., since these animals are not very harmful or dangerous, and it is therefore no great merit to slay them.[3]

Campbell[4] describes the same ceremony rather curtly: "When 224
a man, for the first time, kills an elephant, sea-cow, or rhinoceros, 554
particular honour is attached to him, which is expressed by insignia 301
similar to those in Europe, only made of different materials. They compose rings of the entrails of the slain animal, which they put on his arms, and these he constantly wears."[4]

[3] Op. cit., 22.
[4] Travels in S. Africa, [illegible].

Cape Hottentots

224 A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots,
but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and
554 is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in
the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest
act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant,
rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole
kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration.
On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "andersmachen"
rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people
were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the
[514] centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then
rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some
words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn."
[276] The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter
received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his
[301] body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour,
and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the
bladder of the animal he had slain.

224 The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained
secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best
[639] meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also
he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to
leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to
pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening.
[262] Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when
back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay
hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was
[578] supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife
was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his
neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation, the sacramental meal being the central feature. The other 224 discrepancies between the two versions it is more charitable to ascribe to differences in tribal custom. The point cannot be definitely settled, since no other first-hand observers appear to have recorded the ceremony with sufficient wealth of detail to provide material for comparison.

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[1] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 128-9.

Even the descriptions given above seem inadequate when considered 224 in the light of Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot "transition rites". That these hunting ceremonies fall into this 178 category is evident from the holding of the sacramental meal, the usages relating to the fire and to the meat, the scarification and the smearing of the face recorded by Wikar, as well as the seclusion mentioned by Kolb. Now that hunting of this description has ceased to be possible, owing largely to the extermination of most of the big game, the rites seem completely to have lapsed, and it is hardly likely that further information about them can still be obtained. A casual remark by Mrs. Hoernlé implies that they really constituted the boys' puberty ceremony. "I found it extremely difficult," she says,[1] "to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered." It will be remembered, however, from the descriptions given above of the boys' puberty ceremony that none of the authorities there quoted makes any mention of hunting; Wikar explicitly separates the two ceremonies in his general sketch of the occasions on which the sacramental meal is held, as does Mrs. Hoernlé herself in a similar analysis[2]; and so too Kolb describes them in different contexts, and even, as we have seen, speaks as if the hunting rites were usually undergone by married men only. On the evidence at present available, therefore, there seems no good reason for connecting the two.

Industries and Trade

Industries

Few aspects of Hottentot life have been recorded in less detail 118 than the economic activities directed towards the production of objects of use and trade. The great majority of the writers merely enumerate and describe the various implements and utensils noticed

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[1] "The Conception of !nau among the Hottentots," 70.

[2] Wikar, op. cit., [illegible]; Hoernlé, op. cit., 68.

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114 by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schultze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

591 The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

291 Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic
286 animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays,
[771] except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other
[812] purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men. Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible, and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite tough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with cowdung and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn
[812] together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the pointed leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were either used for lining the hut, or cut into thongs with which objects were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

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[1] Op. cit., [illegible]

Among the Naman skins are dressed and worked into clothing, bags, riems (thongs) and other objects by both men and women.[1] The tanning of leather is largely the work of the women, and involves a good deal of labour. The fresh skin is stretched out to dry, with the hairy side upwards; when it has hardened, it is softened again with the juice of succulent plants, which are pounded upon its inner side; the superfluous liquid is poured off, and the skin rolled up so as not to dry prematurely. Then the woman kneels on the roll, spreading out flat before her only as much of the skin as she can work at the moment, and after strewing the fleshy side with sandstone powder she rubs it hard with a stone. When all the flesh particles have been scraped off in this way, the skin is again allowed to dry slightly, is then kneaded and wrung out, and is rubbed on the outside with fat. Next it is tanned with the pounded inner bark of the acacia, then rolled up together with the pads of fibre and steeped in red lye made from the bark of the same tree, is afterwards again allowed to dry slightly, and is then spread out and lightly covered with sand. Finally one man takes it at the tail end, another at the head, women and children at the sides, and together they stretch and pull it smooth. It is then dried in the sun, and is now permanently soft and water-tight, and beautifully red on the inside.

Skins prepared in this way are used for a variety of purposes. Those of the calf, goat, sheep, springbok, and duiker are laid as rugs on the floor of the hut, either singly, or a number cut and sewn together, while karosses are sewn from the skins of the sheep, jackal, dassie, or lynx. Others are cut up and used for making the small bag, to hold personal belongings. Formerly also the rear apron of the girls was made exclusively from sheepskins similarly prepared, and the front apron of the boys cut from any such soft skin, while fur caps were made from the back skin of the aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*).

Where the removal of the hair is desired, the fresh skin, crumpled together and wrapped in a tanned skin, is exposed to the heat of the sun by day and placed near the fire in the hut at night. After three or four days of this treatment the skin stinks, and the hair can easily be pulled out. The hide is then rolled up, and the craftsman, in this case a man, stands upon it and works it up and down with his feet until it is soft and almost dry. The fleshy side is then rubbed in with fat.

Sheep or goat skins treated in this way were formerly used for

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[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, [illegible].

281 making the front apron of the women. Others are still converted into bags for holding discarded odds and ends which may later be useful. Two skins are fitted and sewn together all round the edges, except for a small opening left at one side and just big enough to admit the hand. Others again are made into pillows, by cutting two skins into squares of the same size, which are sewn together round three of the edges, the interior then filled in with feathers or hair, and the remaining side finally closed up. Ox or gemsbok hides similarly treated are cut in ever-narrowing spirals from the edges inwards into long strips. These are used as binding-thongs, or else are twisted into ropes for securing oxen. In the latter case the wet newly-cut strip is suspended from the branch of a tree, twisted round tightly and weighted down by means of a heavy stone attached to the lower end. It is then continuously twisted in alternate directions by means of a stick inserted just above the fastening to the stone, until at the end of four or five days the rope is permanently round, hard, and supple. It is then cut up into the lengths desired. Lashes for whips are made in the same way, and plaited together.

In other cases the skin of the animal is not specially treated, but is simply converted into bags of various kinds, such as knapsacks for carrying objects needed on the march, and smaller bags for *bucha* roots, herbs, tobacco and so on. An interesting bag of this kind is
281 that used for holding milk or water. A freshly-killed goat, calf,
415 gemsbok, or steenbok is cut open all along one side, from the left foreleg right up to the shoulder. Through this opening the whole body is shelled from the skin, head and legs having been first cut off. Then all the openings are sewn up, with the exception of that for the right foreleg, which serves as a spout for pouring the liquid in and out, and has a stone cork which can easily be tied fast. The fresh skin is turned inside out, the inner side cleaned of all particles of flesh and fat, and then it is dried. The hairs remain on the inner side of the bag.

283 The thread with which skin objects are sewn together is generally
[829] animal sinew, and so formerly was the bowstring. Strings of varying thickness are also made from the bark fibre of the *Acacia horrida Willd.* The branches of the tree are chopped off by the men, freed of all twigs and thorns, and rapidly passed through the hot ashes of a fire; then the bark is loosened at one end by hammering, and the whole pulled off in strips with the hands. Next the women separate the innermost white layer of fibre from the rest of the bark, and after

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letting it dry soak the mass in lukewarm milk or water, then suck it 283 and chew it in small lumps. A length of prepared fibre is then taken and twisted between the palm of the right hand and the naked thigh, the end of the fibre being held in the left hand. This done, the process is repeated with other lengths of fibre, the lengths being joined up as occasion arises, until sufficient has been made. The resulting string is strong and even, comparing very well with the machine-made article. It is used as thread for sewing together the reed mats for the huts, as well as for making the snares required by the hunter. From 286 it are also knotted net bags, used in the hut for holding various odds 415 and ends, and serving on the march as a rucksack for the skin blankets. Baskets, sieves, and fish-traps woven from reed and flexible twigs are mentioned by some writers, but no description is given of their manufacture.[1]

The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, 323 was lost soon after the Europeans came among them, although as late 679 as the early years of last century earthenware vessels made by themselves were still noted among the Namas. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it seems that in shape and manner of construction they are generally similar to those formerly found among the Cape Bushmen. The most common form is that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord can be passed in order to suspend it. Other pots of the same style are quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base is slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot. They are often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They are unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout.[2]

Kolb states that each family among the Cape Hottentots made its own pots, modelled by hand by the women. The clay was obtained from termite heaps, cleared of sand and gravel, and kneaded together with the ants' eggs mixed in it. A lump was placed on a smooth flat stone and modelled into the shape required. Next it was carefully smoothed inside and outside by hand, and exposed to the sun for a couple of days. When perfectly dry, it was finally put in a

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., [illegible].

[2] [illegible], "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery in the Collection of the Albany Museum," [illegible], pl. 8; Schultze, op. cit., [illegible] and fig.

323 hole in the ground and burned by a fire around and inside it, till it was baked through and hard. Each family as a rule possessed several of these pots, for water and milk, and for cooking.[7]

322 [77] Besides these pots the Hottentots also made wooden milk bowls and pails, dishes, and eating vessels. These are now largely replaced among the Namas by European hardware, but the craft is still kept up among the more independent families. There is no detailed description of the process of manufacture. Apparently the utensils are fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. All wood-carving is done by the men. The block of wood is shaped and smoothed on the outside with a knife, then hollowed out inside, partly by cutting and partly by boring, by means of a semicircular iron blade fixed in a wooden haft. Some of the milk pails in shape closely resemble the earthenware pots, even having ears of the same style for suspension. Wooden spoons, pestles and mortars, *fire*-drills, walking sticks and kirris are also made, and within recent times the more expert craftsmen, aided by new and better tools, have also begun to make tables, chairs, and bedposts for their household furniture.[8]

321 *Spoons* and *buchu* powder-boxes are made by the women from tortoise-shells, while the men cut the horns of animals into receptacles for fat, for odd substances used for medicinal and magical purposes, and for gunpowder, as well as into trumpets used for signalling in war. Formerly also the tusks of elephants were cut with a knife into rings used as armlets. The manufacture of stone implements 324 does not appear to have been practised at all by the Hottentots, at least within historical times. Whether they did so at one time we have no means of telling, but in the light of our present knowledge there is no good reason for assuming that, as in the case of the Bushmen, it is an art they have lost. The only work they do in stone is the cutting and boring of serpentine into pipes by means of a knife. We know also that they formerly used sharp flakes of quartz for making cuts on a person's body in some of their ceremonies, but there is nothing to indicate that these flakes were worked in any special way. Unworked stones are used to support the cooking pot over the fire, and a handmill is formed by a thin flat stone serving as a hearth on

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[7] Op. cit., [illegible]; cf. Grevenbroek, op. cit., [illegible].

[8] Schultze, op. cit., [illegible]; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 231; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, [illegible].

which roots, coffee beans, *buchu* herbs, mineral substances, etc., are ground down with a flat stone.[1] 324

What renders it unlikely that the Hottentots ever were a stone age people is the fact that at the time when they came into contact with Europeans they already possessed the art of working in metal. The heads of their arrows and spears, their cutting instruments and other tools they fashioned from iron, while copper was worked into ornaments; and they were able to smelt the ore for themselves. The mode of smelting iron, according to Kolb, was as follows: A small mound of earth was heaped up, hollowed at the top, and a narrow channel dug vertically down the middle. A shallow basin was then made in the side of the mound, and connected by a hole to the vertical channel. Next a fire was lit in the hole at the top, and when the earth around it was thought well heated the ore was inserted. Then a large fire was made on top of the ore, and fed from time to time with additional fuel, until the iron melted and ran into the basin at the side. When cool it was taken out and broken up with hammers. It was finally beaten into shape, after heating, by means of stone hammers.[2] 325

How far this description can be relied upon is open to doubt. Kolb states that the same method of smelting was employed for copper ore, but in this, at least, he is contradicted by a more reliable authority. Roos and Marais describe the process as they witnessed it among the Naman. A crucible of clay containing the ore was placed on a fire made on a hearth of cowdung, about one foot in diameter and six inches high. Two bellows of goatskin with perforated gemsbok horn nozzles were inserted under the hearth, and by means of them the fire was kept glowing till the copper had melted. The liquid ore was then poured into finger-long moulds of cowdung, and in this way small copper bars of a standard shape made. These were beaten on a flat stone anvil with a stone hammer into rings and other objects.[3]

This method of smelting ore is common throughout Africa. The description is therefore probably more nearly accurate than that given by Kolb. It must also be noted, however, that it is about fifty years later in time, and refers to the Naman, who by then were already in close contact with the Bantu peoples. The possibility of borrowing therefore cannot be eliminated, especially as we are told that the [[171]] 325 177

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., 247-8; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 22.
[2] Op. cit., 173-8.
[3] "Rapport van den Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 59.

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325 Great Namaqua tribes obtained most of their copper from the Little
177 Namaqua to the south, and the BeChwana to the east. And Wikar
states that the Naman preferred not to work their own metal, but
326 hired Herero smiths to come and work iron and copper into beads
439 for them, paying them an ewe as a daily wage.[1] Certainly in the eighteenth century the Naman only worked metal in very small quantities, obtaining almost all their iron and copper implements and ornaments by barter from the OvaHerero and BeChwana. Among the Cape Hottentots also the production of these metals was so limited even in the seventeenth century that the Dutch from the first did an active trade with them in copper and iron goods. Since then the ease with which European metal wares, superior in every way to those of native production, could be obtained, has caused the old native craft of smelting ore to disappear completely. At the present time the raw material, in the form of iron, wire, copper, and more rarely tin, is all obtained from Europeans. It is then fashioned by the men into such ornaments as armbands, rings, and earrings, which are often decorated with incised rows of dots or lines of zigzag, chevron or fishbone pattern.[2]

Division of Labour

462 In these industrial occupations, as well as in the other economic activities, there appears to be no fixed division of labour, save as between the two sexes, and most of the work is for purely domestic purposes. The husband supervises the herding and pasturing of the cattle and the movements of the family from place to place, although where a number of families live together both activities may be regulated by the men in common. The men also hunt, here again either singly or more often in company. They do all the work in wood and metal, make their own powder-horns and pipes, etc. The women complete the huts, after the men have erected the framework, milk the cattle, seek edible roots and berries in the veld, prepare the food, see to water and firewood, and look after the huts. They also make the reed mats for the huts, were formerly the potters, grind *buchu* and mineral powder, and so on. The preparation of skins, finally, is the work of both men and women; the former also make the skin bags, thongs, and lashes, while the latter cut and sew most of the clothing, karosses, and skins for the floor.

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[1] Op. cit., 97.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 248-51.

To what extent specialisation enters into these various pursuits 463
is difficult to say. Smithing, an occupation usually associated with 326
specialised activity, does not appear to have been confined to recognised practitioners; at least, there is no record of special smiths among the Hottentots themselves. And there is no mention either of people devoting themselves exclusively to other forms of industry. Olpp indeed states that the Hottentots have little respect for industrial activity as a whole, and that an artisan in their eyes is little better than a slave (*khowob*). The people are primarily herdsmen, and cattle is the main objective in their lives.[1]

Trade

At the same time it is certain that some persons are better craftsmen 437
than others, and that they can dispose of their products by barter.
We have already noted an instance of this in Wandres's Bondelswart 438
friend, who accumulated a respectable herd of cattle in exchange for the milk pails he made. In other cases, as we have seen, weapons and milk pots may be bartered for cattle, and even beasts of one colour exchanged for those of another. There appears therefore to be a good deal of internal trade among the Naman, but we have little concrete information as to the nature and extent of this trade. Kolb noted it among the Cape Hottentots also. An impoverished man, he says, will make an extra set of weapons and exchange them with a wealthy cattle-owner for two or three head of cattle. Tobacco, dagga, beads, and similar objects obtained in the service of Europeans
are also bartered for cattle, and as a last resort there is a certain root [276]
called *kanna*, used as a stimulant, which is always in demand and can readily be disposed of.[2] All this bartering, however, is merely incidental to the ordinary activities of the people. It appears almost certain that craftsmen devoting themselves exclusively to the continuous manufacture of special objects for barter do not exist among the Hottentots.

There was also a certain amount of trading between the Naman 437
and the Bantu tribes to their north and east. In the eighteenth century the Naman living along the lower reaches of the Orange River are described as receiving annual trading visits from the BeChwana. The latter crossed the intervening desert tracts during the rainy season, bringing with them such things as tobacco, ivory spoons and armlets, copper beads, rings and bracelets, iron beads,

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[1] *Angra Pequena*, 27.

[2] Op. cit., 119-20.

431 axes, adzes and barbed spears, and beautiful skin karosses, which they exchanged for cattle. The regular price for a good milch cow, [435] for example, was eight spears, an axe, an adze, a bag of tobacco, and a bag of dagga, while for a bull or an ox the same objects, but only five spears, were given.[1] Similarly the Naman further north bartered cattle with the OvaHerero for iron beads and weapons, and with the Bergdama for copper rings and beads,[2] while in more recent times they exchanged blankets, knives, tobacco, coffee, etc., with the Namib Bushmen for ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, horns, and skins.[3] Nowhere is any mention made, however, of regular traders among the Naman themselves.

From the time of their first contact with the Europeans trading relations between the two peoples were also developed. The ships calling at Table Bay were ever in need of fresh meat, and this they obtained from the Hottentots in the form of cattle and sheep, giving them in return chiefly copper, iron, and tobacco, but also alcohol and [435] other objects. In the early years of the Dutch settlement, e.g. a cow could be obtained for 3 lb. of copper plate and some tobacco, a sheep for 1 lb. of copper plate and tobacco, and a lamb for ½ lb. of copper wire and tobacco. In time indiscriminate barter for copper, trinkets 231 and tobacco had so impoverished the local groups of Hottentots 439 that there was little cattle to be had, and as a supply of meat was 178 absolutely necessary to the settlement, especially for the ships calling at the Bay, exploring parties were regularly sent inland to barter with the more distant tribes. In the long run, in spite of abortive cattle raids on European farmers, the herds of the Hottentots steadily decreased, and this, together with other factors, completely broke down the tribal organization of those groups which had not saved themselves by withdrawing into the interior. It was only by entering into the service of the whites that these detribalized Hottentots were able to secure a livelihood.[4]

178 The general effects of contact with the Europeans on the material culture of the Hottentots may rapidly be glanced at. First there was the substitution of European goods for native products. The white man brought with him new articles of various kinds, many of which appealed to the Hottentot. At first personal ornaments, such as

[1] Rose and Marais, op. cit., 13; Wikar, op. cit., 121.

[2] Wikar, op. cit., 97; Van Reenen, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika* ii, 147; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 396-7.

[3] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.

[4] Schultze, op. cit., 325 sqq.; Walker, *History of S. Africa*, 38, 40, 43 and *passim*; Hodgson, "The Hottentots in S. Africa," *passim*.

beads, copper and other trinkets, and tobacco were most in demand, 178 but gradually the skin clothing of the people was replaced by European garments, the implements and weapons made by smithing were superseded by imported metal goods, firearms and ammunition, the clay pots and wooden utensils to a large extent by the iron pots and tin mugs of the trader. In all these respects the great majority of the surviving Hottentots have adopted elements of European culture, to a more or less considerable extent. In a number of cases they have also acquired wagons and horses, and the range of their household possessions has been extended to include tables, chairs, and rough wooden beds. Their mode of life has also altered. The majority of Hottentots now live as servants in the employ of Europeans, others have taken to agriculture in a small, and on the whole insignificant, way. Even the remainder, who still lead a purely pastoral life, as a rule have very few cattle, while most of their handicrafts have suffered and some have completely disappeared. The wares of European culture are now to be seen in every Hottentot hut. Only the latter still survives relatively unmodified, save where occasionally old sacking has replaced the far more attractive reed mats.

Property and Inheritance

Property

Several writers, in discussing the economic life of the Hottentots, 421 have applied the term "communism" in a rather loose manner to the way in which goods are used by this people.[1] The concrete facts they themselves record show that this term is inaccurate. Communism, in the sense of all men having equal, free, and unconditional access to all goods and privileges, does not exist among the Hottentots. The only thing perhaps which may rightly be spoken of as communal property is the land, for all members of the tribe enjoy equal customary rights with regard to it. But even here, we have seen, there are limitations to the unconditional exploitation of the land and its resources, and recognition is given to certain individual and family rights.

All other forms of property—huts, live stock, weapons, utensils and other objects of common use—are privately owned. This is emphasised by Kohler's informant, von Burgsdorff, who says that although an apparently pure communism is observable in the life of the Naman, actually this is not found. Everybody has his own property, which he seeks to increase and improve, and, preferably

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[1] E.g. von François, *Nama und Damara*, 222.

421 unobserved by others, to use for himself.¹ And the various ways of acquiring cattle, as well as the internal trade which we have noted, all point clearly to the existence of private property rights. These [685] rights, moreover, are adequately protected. Theft, the furtive or forcible removal of goods belonging to another, is regarded as a serious offence, punishable by severe fines and correction, even by [626] flogging, while an incorrigible thief would formerly be killed.² The payment of debts, again, is an obligation of honour. If a man is unable to satisfy his creditors, a trustee is appointed to take over and divide his assets among them. He is allowed to keep a few goats and cows, whose milk he may use for the maintenance of himself and his family, but he may not slaughter these animals, for he is regarded as holding them in trust for the creditors.³

571 With all this strict regard for private property rights, greed is far from being a characteristic of the Hottentots. They not only share to 574 the utmost with their fellows, but are also very hospitable to strangers, traits favourably commented upon by many observers.⁴ A man in possession of food shares, and is expected to share, it freely with others, and greediness in this respect renders him an object of public scorn.⁵ Objects of common use are also readily given away temporarily, [685] and in the majority of cases even permanently. To take a goat from a man's herds for food, even in his absence or without his permission, is not unlawful, provided he is informed of the deed; on the other hand the taking of an animal in order to sell it is prohibited. This hospitality is a general custom arising out of the conditions of the country, where for long distances food is unobtainable, and it is based on the idea of reciprocity. No Hottentot need leave a stranger's hut

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¹ "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 349.

² Kolb, op. cit., 296–7; Schultze, op. cit., 318; Wandres, "Ueber Rechtsanschauungen der Namas," 277; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 79.

³ *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 78; Kohler, op. cit., 331–2.

⁴ Cf. Kolb, op. cit., 295; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 40; Wikar, op. cit., 134; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305; von François, op. cit., 222; Schultze, op. cit., 318; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 75.

⁵ An extremely interesting statement of this principle is seen in the following entry made in his diary by Hendrik Witbooi, the famous chief of the ||Khobesin:—

"Agreement dated 5th January, 1897:

"The agreement which I make with Francois Daniel Vlock and with anyone who hires a farm from me is as follows:

"1. I charge him £10 per annum.

"2. If he follows his own customs on the farm and if he is unfriendly to the poor people and does not give them a bite when they come to him then I charge him £24 per annum.

"3. If strangers come to his farm and he is not hospitable to them but makes them pay for water and pasture, be they white, red, or black, then I charge him £36 per annum."

This document is signed by Hendrik Witbooi and witnessed by eight of his councillors. (Quoted by [illegible], "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, ii (1926–7), 77–8.)

or camp hungry, especially if of the same tribe; he is welcome, even 577 571
in the owner's absence, to help himself to whatever there is.

It is customs such as these which have given rise to the use of 421
the term "communism" in regard to the property laws of the Hottentots. It should by now be evident, however, that underlying the undoubtedly far-reaching liberality of the people there is always a clear recognition of private property rights. The Hottentot shares his food with others because he has the right to dispose of it, not because they have an equally legitimate claim to it; and this applies still more to live stock and objects of material culture.

This point is borne out by the special reciprocal relationship, 425
soregus, to which reference has already been made.[1] This relationship, 572
also known as *magu*, to give one another, must be ceremonially entered upon between the two persons concerned, and implies, as we have seen, mutual obligation and assistance in all aspects of life—they may refuse each other nothing. In practice this applies especially to property, where each may demand or take from the other whatever he pleases, and may not be refused.

Tindall‡ gives a description of this custom which illustrates rather drastically its full implications in regard to property.[2] "It is usual among them [the Naman] to carry on a kind of 'maatschappy' or partnership. Two men, living perhaps three or four hundred miles apart, 'make mates,' the understanding is that each may take from the other whatever he pleases. They profess to believe that this is a very profitable kind of arrangement, and it is difficult to persuade them of the contrary. The following instance will illustrate the extent to which this 'magu' or 'give-each-other' system proceeds. A poor man at Nisbet Bath, had, by diligence, obtained a horse and gun, he had a good hat, a very decent suit of clothes, a warm overcoat, and his wife had a tolerably respectable wardrobe. One fine morning a mate, with whom he had in an evil hour entered into partnership, turned up from the borders of Damaraland, and claimed as his right, horse, gun, hat, clothes, coat, and all his wife's apparel, except her undress, and with these he departed with true native sang froid, leaving the other his tattered garments and riddled hat, which had been so repeatedly patched, that it was almost impossible to discern the original stuff. The probable sequel to this affair would be that the man would return his mate's visit, who would either manage to avoid

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[1] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 318-19; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 682.
[2] Op. cit., 40-1.

‡[see cat. illy p. 243. —Analyst]

425 him or get all his valuable cattle out of the way; and yet not the least suspicion would be awakened that there was any villainy or
572 dishonesty in the matter."

Wikar, himself a party to such a compact, speaks of it in far more generous terms.[1] "An old father and captain of the Bushmen (*sic*) named Ougas came to me this evening and proposed to take me on as his bond brother ('spiegbroer'), to which I was agreeable, but I said that I had no cattle to give him. He replied however that tobacco would do just as well as cattle from me; if I got cattle during his lifetime then we could give them to one another, if not he would still be my brother and never leave me in the lurch but would help and be faithful to me. And this was indeed the case, for I must acknowledge before God and man that he was to me not merely as a brother but even as a father in all my sorrow, distress, hunger and bodily danger. According to Hottentot practice I might now refuse him nothing for which he asked me and which I had, I must help him and stand beside him in everything, and so too must he act towards me."

The information relating to this custom is on the whole too fragmentary to enable one to determine its full function in Hottentot life. That it is not limited to exchange of goods is shown by the
[836 fact, as we have seen, that it easily lends itself to homosexual practices,
837] where the two persons are of the same sex, and possibly even to wife-exchange, if Wikar's description of the latter can be regarded as another illustration of the usages associated with the *soregus*. But nowhere is any analysis made of the respective social status of the two persons concerned, of the circumstances under which the compact is entered upon, of the extent to which it is practised, and of all its implications. In the absence of such an analysis, and even of the full concrete data upon which it can be based, speculation as to the real meaning of the custom can only be tentative. Tindall's description may possibly furnish one of the underlying motives, in the sense that the compact may be regarded as a means of ensuring protection and hospitality when one is visiting a distant locality; but there are obviously other motives inducing people to enter into such a relationship, and the custom is well worth studying in more detail than has yet been done. As far as the present discussion concerning property is concerned, the very fact that such a system of exchange and even exploitation as is implied in the compact must be

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[1] Op. cit., 83–4.

ceremonially initiated between two special individuals is sufficient argument against the existence of communism among the Hottentots. 425 572

Somewhat akin to the *soregus*, from the economic point of view, is the *||nari ||gab*, the exchange of goods between a man and his sister's son. Here, however, as we have seen, the material advantages are all in favour of the nephew. This economic relationship is based directly on a kinship status, and therefore allows us to see the exchange of goods in a wider social setting, as part of a general pattern of behaviour. The privileged position of the nephew in regard to his mother's brother is due to the respect a man must show towards his sister; and the uneven economic reciprocity between the two former can be regarded as one means of expressing the nature of the ties connecting them. Here again this relationship, with the special rights of exploitation it confers in regard to property, is an argument against the existence of communism. 425 604

It is hardly necessary to stress any *further* the fact that the economic life of the Hottentots is really based upon the notion of private property. The problem now arises whether property belongs to the individual or to the family as a whole. Wandres categorically states that an individual owns nothing but his own soul or breath. All objects of common use—clothes, weapons, implements, and utensils—as well as the hut and the live stock are the collective property of the family. The individual has only the usufruct of, e.g. his clothes and his weapons, and has not the *right* to dispose of them or of anything else without the consent or knowledge of the rest of the family.[1] Vedder repeats this assertion in terms that are somewhat confusing: "Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use. Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission, and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possesses a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not."[2] 421

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[1] "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 612-3.
[2] "The Nama," 144.

427 These statements imply that a distinction must be made between usufruct on the one hand and rights of disposal on the other. There is no doubt that individuals may have the exclusive usufruct of certain objects. This is evident from Vedder's statement about live stock, and almost certainly applies also to objects of personal use, such as clothing and weapons. It is clear also, from facts previously noted, that property such as live stock may be acquired by individuals through their own efforts, as well as by inheritance. We thus get the situation that individuals can acquire objects and have the sole right to use them, but apparently cannot dispose of them freely. The customs of *aragus* and *||mari ||gab* are difficult to reconcile with this latter condition, and so too is the fact, which Wandres himself mentions, that an individual can during his lifetime specify how his possessions are to be distributed after his death. But, assuming that there is some measure of truth in the statement that family control is exercised, the question that must be answered is whether this control implies a complete negation of individual ownership. The Hottentot conception of ownership has unfortunately nowhere been clearly defined, and in an argument which is essentially one of native conceptions it is obviously dangerous to apply European legal concepts. But there seems no good reason why the usufruct enjoyed by an individual should not be regarded as a form of ownership, since these rights appear to be vested exclusively in him. The control of the family over the disposal of these objects can equally well be regarded as designed to guard against their reckless dispersal, and hence its own impoverishment, and in no way interferes with the actual rights of possession enjoyed by the individual.

In this connection it may be noted that Wandres mentions also that the chief has as little property as any other man, but has at the same time the rights of a guardian over the property of the individual families. It is his duty to see that his subjects do not dissipate or otherwise squander the family properties making up the wealth of the tribe.[1] In what way he does this Wandres does not specify, and the statement is not confirmed by other observers.

Inheritance

The customary rules of inheritance, by which a dead man's goods
428 are distributed among his heirs, also indicate the existence of individual
property rights. Unfortunately not even a single concrete example of

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[1] Op. cit., 683.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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inheritance has been recorded. It is difficult therefore to determine accurately what goods are distributed in this way, and consequently what goods may be regarded as individual possessions. The live stock obviously form the major part of the estate, but mention is also made of "the rest of the property" and of "inanimate objects", which, however, are not specified. The old writers on the Cape Hottentots state quite definitely that the hut of a dead person was left standing with all the belongings, and that the camp was moved. In such cases, therefore, the hut, together with its furnishings, could not have been inherited. Nowadays this practice is no longer observed, so that these objects fall into the category of inheritable possessions. There does not appear to be any destruction or burial of a man's goods with him at death, a custom noted among the Bushmen, so that there are no goods of which it can definitely be said that they are not inherited. Concrete information on this point is greatly desirable. 423

There is some discrepancy between the different accounts of the general laws of inheritance. Among the Cape Hottentots, according to Kolb, only males could inherit property; failing sons, the nearest male relative of the dead man was the heir, never a daughter. Normally the whole estate, and by this is meant primarily the live stock, passed into the possession of the eldest son, who now became the head of the family. The younger brothers remained dependent upon his goodwill, unless, indeed, their father during his lifetime had given them a few head of cattle for themselves, and thus enabled them to become independent. Otherwise they were expected to stay with the heir and help him to manage and keep together, if possible even to increase, the wealth he had inherited. He might, if he wished, give each of them some cattle, but he was not bound to do so, or else he could allow them to enter the service of Europeans, and thus be freed of his immediate control. The heir also had to support his mother and the other wives of his father, while his sisters were placed under his exclusive control and might not marry without his permission.[1]

Among the Naman also, according to most writers, the eldest son is the principal heir. He becomes the head of the family, and has the duty of supporting his mother as long as she lives, if she does not marry again. He also controls the marriages of his sisters. Any gifts made during courtship come to him; in return he is obliged to provide the marriage feast, but he is compensated for this by the

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[1] *Op. cit.*, 141–2; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 331.

428 temporary service rendered him by the newly-married husband. He also inherits a greater portion of his father's estate than do the other children. In particular he acquires all the live stock, with the exception of those animals previously allocated by the father during his lifetime to other sons and daughters. These animals with their increase pass at the division of the estate into the full possession of the children for whom they had been set aside. The rest of the property—presumably the material objects—is divided equally between all the children, under the supervision of the chief. The widow, however, retains all the objects brought by her into the marriage (this would, therefore, include the hut), as well as everything, including cattle, given her by her husband during his lifetime. Here, it will be noticed, all the children, both sons and daughters, participate to some extent in the inheritance, and the concept of individual possession is fully illustrated in both the distribution of the goods and the retention by the widow and minor heirs of property acquired by them from the dead man during his lifetime.[1]

Wandres, and following him Vedder, specifies more minutely, and also somewhat differently, the Nama laws of inheritance. If a man dies his wife and all his children, sons and daughters, are heirs in equal portions. The estate may not be divided as long as the widow is alive, unless she wishes to return to her own people. The inheritance is then distributed by the chief, and the widow receives her portion, together with that of the youngest child, whom she takes with her. If the wife dies before the husband, her property is inherited by him and the children, i.e. it remains in the family. When both the parents are dead, the estate is divided up by the chief, who is compensated for his task, which is often by no means a sinecure. The estate is divided equally amongst the children, sons and daughters alike, the eldest son being regarded as the trustee, under the supervision of the father's eldest living brother. Children born to a woman [349] before marriage normally pass into the possession of their real father, and therefore do not inherit from the man she subsequently marries. The illegitimate children of a man, on the other hand, are entitled to the same share of his estate as his other children. Children born to a woman in adultery can also inherit from her husband, if he pardons her and adopts them.

429 If the children are still minors, their nearest male relative or the grandparents on either side act as their guardians and as the trustees

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[1] Schinz, op. cit., 200; von François, op. cit., 216–17; Kohler, op. cit., 344, 345.

he stock. The rights of the guardian cannot be interfered with 429 the chief or the tribal council, but as he is always closely watched the other relatives he cannot easily appropriate anything in an gal manner. When a childless couple die, the estate goes to their 428 ents, those of the husband having first claim. When the parents also dead, the chief divides the estate among the more remote tives of the deceased, the following order of preference being erved: husband's eldest sister's children, husband's brothers, band's sisters, wife's sisters, husband's brother's children, children the husband's remaining sisters, wife's sisters' children. The thers of the dead wife, Wandres remarks, do not inherit, since, rding to the ideas of the Naman, they belong to another family. ortion of the estate is also claimed by the chief, in return for his ervision.

These traditional laws of inheritance can only be departed from man during his lifetime stipulates that after his death certain his goods are to be given to his *aere*-companion, friends, more note relatives, etc. This voluntary testament, *gao*, must be made lly before witnesses, and is usually abided by conscientiously, hough the chief has to see that the nearer relatives do not suffer it.[1]

t is doubtful to what extent this formulation of the laws of eritance can be relied upon. It is certainly far more elaborate than given by any other writer, and should therefore probably be arded as more accurate. But the statement that all children inherit equal shares does seem at variance with the honoured position of eldest brother among the Naman, and the other writers, as we e seen, all state that the eldest son is the principal heir. The rmation about oral wills, again, also stands in need of confirmation. e the lack of definite case-histories of inheritance once more makes lf felt, as concrete examples would have enabled one to clear up discrepancies in the different statements of the laws of inheritance. e general trend of the information is to show that a man's eldest is the principal heir, and that the other children inherit to only inor degree. Apparently both men and women can acquire property [562] this way, and the possessions inherited are held individually.

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[1] Wandres, op. cit., 463–5; Vedder, op. cit., 145.

CHAPTER XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

642 LIKE most other aspects of their culture, the political organisation
177 of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent the
signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original form
of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts of
the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kolb,
who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots more
fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 He states[1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *konquer*
or *khonquer*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The normal
619 heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failing
622 a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a brother
or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at his
accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains"
of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the people,
and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogatives.
[574] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for the
"captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while the
broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on some
suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for the
wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women,
and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record of
any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so that
the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched for.

643 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. He
619 led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and he
presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governing
622 body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen of
645 all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summoned
by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importance
arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, disputes

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[1] *Reise zum Vorgebürge der Guten Hoffnung*, 40–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 301–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or 641
with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief 619
was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were 622
to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around 645
him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed
in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might
be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority.

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was [645]
concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of 631
the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an 621
ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own 622
recognized headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape
Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in
the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as
described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the
headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and
to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely- [623]
organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first
instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right
and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and
punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction.
The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where
the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down
the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence
to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting
the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture
grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the
headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in
the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined
by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the
command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from
his kraal.

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other 643
marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or [622]
wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with 554
the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper,
and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth
were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief
was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says
Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public

643 655 [224] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief; he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 618 619 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organization of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

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[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, iii, 110.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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Cape Hottentots Nama

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autonomous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of 618
independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more 619
prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have 622
occupied in the original conditions of native life.

As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public 643
affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears 642
from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

The political organization of the Naman was in all probability 642
originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the 177
beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Orlams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

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[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 100-3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 108-10; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 337-9; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72-3, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 33-4; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 24; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 3022-4; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 321; Vedder, "The Nama," 140.

643 [559] Every Nama tribe has its own hereditary chief, *gao-aob*, more commonly known nowadays by his Dutch title "kapitein". His official insignia, also a sign of Dutch influence, is the *gao-hais*, a long wooden staff with an iron or brass knob at one end. The successor to the office, under normal circumstances, is the eldest son of the last chief, and as such he is usually accepted without question by the tribe.[1] [562] If he is a minor his father's brother or some other near relative in the male line acts as regent, although one instance is recorded, in the case of the Gei //Kauan, of a woman reigning on behalf of her young brother until he came of age.[2] Women, however, never succeed of their own right to the chieftainship. Failing a son, the late chief's eldest surviving brother or brother's son takes his place. A chief has the right during his lifetime, owing to advancing old age, ill-health, or any good reason, to abdicate in favour of his heir. This, however, is an entirely personal right which he cannot be compelled to exercise against his will. There is no mention of special ceremonies observed at the accession of a new chief.

643 645 The chief, although hereditary, and as such commanding great respect and influence, is bound to act in terms of the advice and resolutions of his councillors. Every tribe has a definite tribal council, "Raad," consisting of the chief ex-officio and of members elected at a mass meeting of the married men of the tribe. There is no information available as to the methods of election. The number of these elected councillors, "Raden," varies from tribe to tribe. The Bethanie Hottentots had twelve of them, the Swartboois nine, and the Witboois from fifteen to twenty. From their midst are appointed the senior officials of the tribe, such as the sub-chief ("onder-kapitein"), magistrate ("magistraat"), war commandant, chief field cornet ("hoof veldkornet"), and later, as Christians, the elders 643 of the church ("ouderlings"). In addition to this formally-con- 887 stituted council, the older members of the tribe, qualified by age and experience, have the right to be consulted on all important public

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[1] Tindall (op. cit., 42) and, following him, Fritsch (op. cit., 364) say that the heir to the chieftainship is usually the youngest son. This is inaccurate. The notorious Jonker Afrikaner, who, on account of his personal qualities, was designated by his father Jager to succeed to the chieftainship of the Afrikaners (//Aixa //ain), was not the eldest son, and therefore in Hottentot eyes he was not entitled to become chief. The smaller part of the tribe supported him but the majority did not, and in consequence the tribe was split up, the various families settling down in different places, while Jonker with his adherents later moved into South-West Africa. (Cf. Frey, "Jonker Afrikaner and his Time," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i, 29.)

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 119. Cf. Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 19): "If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the *gao-tao* (contracted from *gaotaras*), the ruling woman—i.e. the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not yet of age."

affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the 643
councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise 887
internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They
serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining
public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, 645
rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal
and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. 692
In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater
weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although
his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures
a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong
character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council
is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who
are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as
the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases
of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence
of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first
instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who [643
has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment 681]
can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub- 621
chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief 622
by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the
chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local 692
councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising
within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to
the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with
such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for
report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man 643
in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. 554
At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he
receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, 651
writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal
taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult
man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

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[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, op. cit., 97, 218.

[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 105.

[3] *Reports of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii; cf. *idem*, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 42.

643 number of years. He also keeps a large quantity of milk at the door
of his hut, which he distributes to the poor and the needy. None
554 of these statements has been confirmed by later writers, with the
651 exception of the tribute of game, which, as we have seen, is also
mentioned by Wandres. Kohler's informant, on the other hand,
explicitly denies that such a tribute is paid, and this would seem to
be confirmed, at least as far as more recent times are concerned, by
the statements of several other writers that the chief receives no tribute
from his subjects. Nor does he levy any taxes, although in case of
war or other extensive undertakings collections may be held or
requisitions made, to which every tribesman has to contribute according
[681] to his means. The fines levied in criminal cases, however, often go
to the chief, or are shared between him and the judges. He can also
accept a share of the damages awarded in a civil dispute, but there
is no obligation on the successful litigant to pay this. It is regarded
merely as a voluntary gift for the trouble taken, and the same is
probably true in those cases, mentioned by Wandres, where the
chief regulates inheritances. In co-operation with his council the
chief can also impose orders upon his people, which as a rule are
implicitly obeyed. He can, e.g., cause certain grazing grounds to
be vacated, in order that they may be rested. He has also the right
to use the labour of the people for public purposes, such as mending
roads, building schools, or churches, opening up water and furrows,
and so on. All adult males further are liable to be called out for
military duty at any time.

643 It may be added that, according to Hahn, a Hottentot chief is
554 expected "to have an open house and an open hand" and the worst
that can be said of a chief is that he is *gei-//are*, i.e. "greatly left-handed or stingy." "It happens sometimes," Hahn even says,
"that another man is made chief, who is expected to be more liberal."[1]
There is no instance on record, as far as can be ascertained, of such
a deposal having taken place, and the statement seems contradictory
to the genuine respect attached by the people to the hereditary rights
of the chief. "Our chiefs are not made," they say, "they are given
by God." And Eduard Lambert, when on the death of his brother
Andries the German authorities wished him to act as chief of the
Gei //Khauan, the rightful heir being several hundred miles away,
is said to have at first declined the proposal, with the words: "One

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[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 17; cf. Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322.

has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in 643
Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function 554
of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political 642
system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system 178
evolved by the Naman under European influence, viz. the fact that 887
the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, 643
lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitu- 645
tion of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Orlam chiefs, whose 643
military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to act quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the /Hobesen, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early 643
days of 1891, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system 624
of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

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[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72, 81.

[2] Some illuminating examples of his correspondence are published by von François, op. cit., 126 sq., 219-20; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 83 sqq., 96; Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 53-62 *passim*.

643 was that, while he was an autocrat to a certain extent, the other chiefs, 624 like Willem Christian of the Bondelswarts, and Simon Kooper of the Franzmann Hottentots, relied more on popular approval and the support of their councillors than on their royal prerogatives.

> Hoornkranz,
> *3rd January*, 1891.
>
> Beloved Community of Hoornkranz,
>
> To-day I make fresh appointments for the New Year. I have caused certain alterations to be made to the Civil and Church Laws. I have also appointed new officials according to the times and the promptings of the Lord. Therefore have I appointed younger men, like children who are being trained and, when the time is accomplished, they will be taken into full membership. For this reason I have relieved some of the older officials and have substituted young men in full authority of the laws, in order that they may publicly perform their authorized duties. I have, however, reappointed some of the old officials as well, so that they may train and teach the younger team. I have also appointed two additional elders. The names of those appointed will be read to the community, and are as follows :—

Then follows a [illegible] of the names and of the offices to which they have been appointed. These posts were all honorary, and carried no salaries or emoluments. The seven chief appointments are those of sub-chief, magistrate, war commandant, chief field cornet, and three senior councillors. The remainder (there are thirty in all) include the " overseer of the whole village ", a " second magistrate ", second, third, and fourth field cornets, elders, junior councillors, messengers of the court and of the elders, a " corporal " and a " second corporal ". The " corporal ", in spite of his humble designation, was really the quartermaster-general in the field ![1]

Law and Justice

671 The political institutions of the Hottentots must be regarded from one aspect as a means of welding the tribe into an integral unity, and thus giving it the cohesion and solidarity which enable it to present a united front to the outside world in defence and aggression. They serve also to maintain law and order within the tribe. Through its agencies of government the activities of the community are organized, and the harmonious co-operation in public affairs which this produces secures the orderly functioning of communal life. Various other mechanisms contribute towards the achievement of the same end. Throughout our discussion of the social and economic life of the people we have noted the existence of numerous observances, conventions, and rules. These regulate all the normal relations between persons, as in marriage with its conditions and implications, the status of husband and wife and of their respective families, kinship,

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[1] Quoted in *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 73. A similar list of officials for 1888, differing slightly from the above, is appended to a letter quoted by von François, op. cit., 220.

exogamy, descent and succession, chieftainship, the exercise of power, 671
economic activities and co-operation, and between persons and objects, as in property and inheritance. All the manners and customs of the Hottentots, therefore, their moral and religious precepts, their fashions, conventional standards of etiquette and rules of social intercourse, make for law and order in the community. They determine the personal relations between people, and their existence is the basis of uniformity and cohesion in social and economic life.

These rules are not formulated in any legal code. Some of them have come into being as decisions of the tribal council in judicial trials, while in more recent times others have even been deliberately enacted, as for example in the case of the various proclamations issued by such chiefs as Hendrik Witbooi. Legislation of the latter type, however, does not appear to have occurred in the original conditions of Hottentot life. The laws of the Hottentots are to a very considerable extent inherent in the social organization and usages of the people. They have developed as a result of the more or less unconscious adjustment of personal relations, as a product of economic activities, and so on, and have become accepted as norms or standards of life and conduct which are binding as such on the community. Their existence, in other words, is derived from the authority of tradition and precedents.

The orderly functioning of communal life demands that all members 861
of the community must conform to these rules or norms of conduct. 626
The individual, that is, must be adapted to social needs and standards. This involves the operation of social control, a process found everywhere in society. Here again we meet with the existence of moulding forces similar in function to those already noted among the Bushmen. The Hottentot child at birth comes into a society where there are already established manners and customs, definite forms of behaviour and organization. In the household of his parents, where he remains until marriage, in his relations with other people, especially with his kindred, and in the company of his coevals, the rules of social behaviour are impressed upon him. He falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking as is expected of him, and in this way comes o conform to the existing social pattern. Moreover, first under the direct guidance of his mother, and later in tending the flocks and in hunting, he is initiated into the economic life of his people, while a girl gradually learns to perform the household duties proper to her ex. At puberty, above all, he receives a definite course of instruction

861 conveying to him the type of behaviour expected of him as a man.
626 Later, as an adult, he may attend and even participate in the conduct of judicial trials, and in this way have the methods of procedure, the traditions and the usages of his people brought home clearly to him. Throughout his life his activities and sentiments are thus being directed and moulded into conformity with the social norms making for the law and order of the group.

626 The non-fulfilnent or breach of any recognized norms of behaviour is penalized by sanctions of various kinds, which consequently must
784 also be regarded as means of ensuring observance of the social standards. Some of these sanctions are of a purely ritual nature. Foremost in this category are those underlying the whole conception of *!nau.* Here we have an elaborate series of observances and avoidances, pertaining to all the critical stages of life, whose infringement is followed automatically by death, sexual disease, diminished fertility or some similar evil result. There are also various usages connected with hunting, which, according as they are observed or violated, bring good or ill-fortune respectively. The rites performed at visiting old tribal localities, and other rites to be noticed later in connection with the ghosts of dead people, must in the same way be observed in order to avoid the sickness and even death which may be caused by these ghosts. In all these cases departure from a prescribed line of conduct leads automatically to evil consequences, without any direct interference on the part of the community.

626 Sometimes compliance with the social standards of behaviour is secured through unorganized social pressure. Selfishness in regard to food, for example, exposes a man to scorn, a form of chastisement to which the Hottentots, in common with many other primitive peoples, are said to be very sensitive; similarly, stealing is regarded as a disgrace, and the thief, apart from other punishment, is cut by everyone and becomes almost an outcast. Other types of norm, again, are sanctioned by the organized reaction of the community acting as a whole or through its authorities or certain groups or individuals. Thus, as we have seen, a man who violates certain prohibitions is expelled from the company of the *doro* men, and may
[628] not again eat together with them until he has been purified. In other
[627] cases the blood feud comes into operation, or again the culprit may
626 be tried and punished by the judicial authorities of the community, i.e. by the tribal council. This last type of procedure has been
171 developed among the Hottentots to a far greater extent than among

Capa Hottentots

the Bushmen, where indeed, save among the Namib groups, it cannot 626 [171] be said to exist at all.

Personal disputes or grievances of a minor character were settled 627 among the Cape Hottentots[1] by the two parties themselves, either in verbal argument or more often by means of a hand-to-hand fight. No one took any heed of such quarrels except the women, who, in [562] order to prevent their resulting in serious hurt or manslaughter, would intervene between the two men and ask them to stop. It was regarded [576] as a serious disgrace if the men ignored this request and still continued to fight.[2] In more serious cases the matter was referred to a court consisting of the "captain" and all the adult men of the kraal, 695 with the exception of those directly affected by the dispute. As soon as any complaint was made to the "captain", say about the disputed possession of cattle, he summoned all the men to a convenient open space outside the kraal, where they all sat round in a circle. The plaintiff and the defendant, together with their witnesses, were then given full hearing, each party conducting his own case. The councillors thoroughly examined the statements on both sides, and after discussion the decision was reached by the vote of the majority. The verdict was pronounced by the headman, and the party in whose favour it went obtained full possession of the disputed property. In cases of assault and bodily hurt the same procedure was followed, and damages awarded in cattle in proportion to the injury received. Offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, [674] adultery, and sodomy, regarded as crimes punishable by death, were also tried before this council. As soon as a man was known or [694] suspected of having committed such an offence, every member of the kraal considered it a duty to arrest him at the first opportunity, unless he succeeded in making his escape. Once captured he was safely held until the council assembled, which was always as soon as possible. The councillors sat in a circle, and the accused was placed in the centre, where he could hear all that was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser then stated his case, and produced all his proofs, supported by witnesses. The prisoner, in return, offered all means of defence the case would suggest, advancing any contradictory evidence at his command, and his answer

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., 136–9, 46; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 322.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this statement by the fact that among the Naman, as we have noted, a woman can generally be relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother, either own or classificatory, is taking part. The sanction here is the respect due to a sister by her brother.

695 was listened to with undivided attention. The matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to
696 him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the headman, in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The headman, as chief executioner, rushed towards the criminal and felled him to the ground
[681] with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men then violently attacked him until he was beaten to death.[1]

672 No distinction was made in the execution of this sentence according to the status, wealth, age, or sex of the criminal; the headman himself, if found guilty of such a crime, would be dealt with in the same
[764] way. The body of the criminal, however, was buried with all the customary formalities observed in normal cases of death; his property was inherited as usual by his heirs, and no stigma attached to them as
681 a result of his crime and his fate. There is good reason for supposing
695 that this corporal punishment was not necessarily carried to extremes, but could be made more or less severe, according to the nature of the case and the decision of the council.

692 There was no appeal from the verdict of the kraal council, either
694 in civil disputes or in crimes. The main tribal council, consisting of the chief and the kraal headmen, dealt only with disputes between different kraals. It was summoned by the chief on receipt of any complaint, and its proceedings were conducted along the same lines as those of the kraal councils.

692 The description given above can hardly be regarded as exhaustive or even as entirely trustworthy. Its interest lies mainly in the comparison it affords with the conduct of trials among the Naman, about whose legal usages we have more adequate information.[2] The local kraal councils can deal with civil disputes and minor offences, and impose corporal punishments or fines; but there is always an appeal from their judgments to the main tribal council, to which all cases of importance are also referred as a court of first instance. No special distinction is made in procedure between civil and criminal
693 cases. The judges in all important trials are the elected councillors

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[1] An eyewitness account of such an execution, in which four men were beaten to death, is quoted by Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., i, 172–3.

[2] The fullest accounts are given by Wandres, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein und Recht der Hottentotten," 270–6; Vedder, "The Nama," 142–4; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 352–7; cf. also Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 221; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 324–5; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 73–6 *passim*.

of the tribe. The eldest of them presides over the proceedings; 693
the others are his assessors, *nu-aogu*, and can take part freely in the
examination of the litigants or accused and of the witnesses. One of
them also acts as public prosecutor, another as advocate for the defence
(*gowaba-aob*, intercessor). The post of councillor, as we have seen,
is honorary and carries no salary, but certain court fees are levied in
trials. The complainant must deliver a couple of fat goats in advance
in order to have his case heard, and these provide food for the judges
as long as the court sits. The defendant also may be required to
contribute a similar fee, even before the verdict is arrived at.

The initiative in any legal proceedings lies in the hands of the 694
complainant. Self-help is not permitted. He must lodge his grievance
with the official known as the magistrate. The latter then summons
the councillors, who assemble together on the day fixed for the hearing.
The court meets as a rule out in the open, under the shade of some
tree, where all squat in a circle. The litigants or accused and the
witnesses are then summoned by the public messenger, who as sign
of his function carries with him a long stick. With this, on entering
the hut of the defendant, he knocks three times on the ground, without
speaking a word. Then he goes away as silently as he came. The
defendant now knows that his presence is required. If he refuses
to appear, which in fact seldom happens, or fails to send an acceptable
excuse in time, several strong men are sent to take and bring him
by force. For defying the summons he then receives a special flogging. [681]
If he is accused of some crime, and is suspected of meditating flight,
he is brought before the court with a riem[a] round his neck and his hands
tied behind his back. Witnesses summoned are obliged to appear,
and if they do not are fetched and punished in the same way as the
defendant. The latter must stand or kneel in the centre of the court 695
circle, but if a woman is permitted to sit. The complainant stands
or squats nearby till he is called upon to speak, and the summoned
witnesses must also remain within a reasonable distance.

The magistrate now states the case to the council. The chairman
then calls on the complainant to speak, next on the defendant and
on all the witnesses one after the other. One witness as a rule is
sufficient, but more are desirable. No hearsay evidence is allowed;
only what the witness has himself seen and heard is admitted as valid.
False testimony is severely condemned, the perjurer being punished [687]
according to the mischief he causes. Examination and cross-examina- 695
tion are conducted by the councillors. They rarely employ direct 195

[a] [i.e., a rawhide strip of oxhide. —Analyst].

695 [195] questions, but prefer to arrive at their point by circumlocutions. When they have probed the matter to their satisfaction, or when the accused has either confessed or been reduced to helpless silence by all the cross-questioning, both parties, together with the witnesses, have to withdraw to a distance. The case is then discussed among themselves by the councillors, and judgment is arrived at unanimously, if possible. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion is the matter referred to the chief, whose casting vote settles the question finally.

The verdict, opening with the words: "In the name of the chief's law," is pronounced by the chairman, and is forthwith executed. 696 Sentences of death are carried out by the official executioner, who is 681 appointed from time to time by the council, and by his assistant; if corporal punishment has been decided upon, the *nou-aob*, "thrashing-man," gets into action; while any fines levied are collected by the magistrate. The costs of the action, in the form of goats paid as court fees, always fall upon the losing party. If this is the defendant, he must also replace the goats delivered at the beginning of the case by the complainant.

695 No torture is employed in legal trials, nor are there any special oaths or ordeals. Wandres describes, however, what he terms a sort of duel by warrant, which was sometimes resorted to in the past. This duel, *ǂhigu*, could take place with or without weapons. When the councillors were unable to secure harmony between the litigants, the oldest of them took some sand in the palm of each hand, which he held out before the two men, or else he poured a little sand on to their shoulders. If the challenge was accepted, the sand was brushed away; but if one of the men refused it, he was branded as a coward and held to be in the wrong. Where both accepted the challenge, the councillors formed a ring around them. They then attacked each other with their fists, kicked, wrestled, and bit, until one of them [574] was overpowered. Reconciliation followed. The victor slaughtered a fat sheep, which was eaten by him and his opponent, with the councillors as guests. Before the feast the two men shook hands in a friendly manner, and as sign of their reconciliation they ate together out of one dish. Finally there followed a general shaking of hands. The duel with weapons was of a more serious nature, and might even result in death. If reconciliation could not be brought about by the councillors, the two men left the court in a rage, and fought with their kirris or spears until one of them was stretched senseless, perhaps

even dead, on the ground. The victor was not punished, and in some 695
cases he also inherited the property of his unfortunate opponent.[1]

Another resort sometimes employed was divination. If the council 695
was unable to decide the guilt of a person, the diviner, *ku aob*, was 787
called in for assistance. He had with him two small strips of leather, *kura*, one with a copper bead, the other with an iron bead attached to the end. The former was regarded as male, the latter as female. These leather strips the diviner beat on the fist of his hand or on the ground, at the same time invoking the oracle with the words: *mi, mi, amae mi, homits gao, ota mi ais !na khau tsi!* "Tell, speak, tell the truth, if you lie, then I will burn you in the fire!" Then he jerked the strips from his hand into the circle formed about him by the council with the litigants or the accused. The ends to which the beads were attached had to point towards the culprit. Wandres explains the working of this method by the firm belief which the Naman even at the present time have in this oracle. The diviner, a skilled reader of men, carefully observes the litigants or the accused while busy with his strips. The real culprit, like all the others, believes in the efficacy of the oracle, and therefore cannot hide his apprehensions, with the result that the diviner can readily recognize his man, and with a twist of his hand divert the strips towards him.[2]

The main penal sanctions among the Naman are flogging, fines, 681
and death. A sentence of death can nowadays only be passed by the European administration and its duly-constituted law courts, to which all cases involving it must be referred. Punishment in the native courts is therefore confined to flogging and to fines payable as a rule in goats. There are no fixed rules for the degree of punishment, but certain pragmatic principles are observed. Offences against [673]
the community are more severely punished than those against individuals. Accidental misdeeds are not regarded as crimes; but unsuccessful attempts meet with punishment, while self-defence, although not sufficient ground for acquittal, produces amelioration of the sentence. Incorrigible offenders are expelled and their property confiscated; in the old days they might even be killed. The confirmed cattle thief has to expect harder punishment at every conviction, until ultimately the death sentence would formerly have been decided upon; nowadays the matter is then referred to the law courts of the Europeans.

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[1] Op. cit., 272–3; cf. Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 105–6.

[2] Op. cit., 273.

68 Theft as a rule is punished by flogging, administered with the sjambok, and the thief must also make twofold restitution. Sexual crimes, such as incest, adultery, and rape, are, as we have seen, punished by fines, floggings, confiscation of property, or even by death, according to the nature and circumstances of the offence. A man who insults or slanders the chief or a councillor is flogged till he becomes unconscious; if he slanders a dead man he is fined one or two head of small stock, and if the offence is repeated he receives fifty lashes and must pay a fine in cattle. The infliction of mild bodily injuries meets with a fine, and the culprit must, in addition, support the victim and his family until the former is well again; if the injured man is himself the cause of the strife, his assailant goes free. In severe bodily injuries leading to death, it is specially investigated if the wounds were deliberately caused or not. In the latter case all the assailant's property is given to the relatives of the deceased, and he receives a severe flogging as well, unless his relatives ransom him by paying a heavy fine. In the former case he was sentenced to death. The death sentence was also imposed for high treason, deliberate murder, and incorrigible stealing. Incorrigible thieves were stoned or beaten to death, but a murderer was killed in the same way as he had caused the death of his victim. If by shooting, then he was also shot; if by stabbing, then he was stabbed; if by beating, then he was also beaten to death, and so on. Wandres states also that a sorcerer who by his magic had caused the death of a man was killed and his body burned, but this lacks confirmation. Attempted homicide is punished by a flogging of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty lashes, unless the intended victim is the chief, when in former days the assailant was sentenced to death.

681 In the infliction of these punishments, the poorer members of
the tribe, the servants and other inferiors usually come off worst.
696 This is a point made by several reliable observers, and emphasized by Vedder, when he says: "Since South-West has become a colony and a mandated territory, confidence in their own jurisdiction has decreased even where it has been left in their hands. They do not regard their own judges as impartial enough to administer justice to the complainant or accused. This is no wonder! As a result of their close cohabitation it is very difficult for a judge to administer justice quite regardless of the person and his property."[1] The more wealthy and influential people are on the whole treated less severely,

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[1] Op. cit., 143.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and formerly they could even escape the death sentence for murder by a payment of cattle to the chief. But the possible shielding of murderers in this way always exposed them to the blood feud. If, through favouritism or for political reasons, a murderer was acquitted by the council, the nearest relative of the victim had the right to take the law into his own hands and to kill him. 681 696

Blood vengeance, *//kharab*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots.[1] A son avenged the death of his father, a brother his brother, and if there was no son to take vengeance for the death of a woman her husband was obliged to do so. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act. The case is cited of the well-known traveller and explorer Charles John Andersson, who about 1861 shot an Afrikander Hottentot near Windhoek in what he alleged was self-defence. He reported the matter to the chief Jonker Afrikaner, and as a result was brought before the chief and tribal council for trial. The council, after hearing the evidence, was satisfied, rightly or wrongly, that Andersson had exceeded his rights and had gone too far. But in view of the fact that he was a European and a British subject, the chief was reluctant to punish him. So, "I release you," said Jonker, "but," he added, "according to our law the brother of Hartebeest will kill you and must kill you, so flee for your life."[2] 628 [673]

In all probability the blood feud was formerly very extensively practised, especially in connection with the clan organization. We know from accounts left us by travellers among the Naman in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them, and the chief was unable in the interests of the tribe as a whole to prevent two clans from carrying out vengeance one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Alexander gives an account of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account of another vendetta at Bethanie among the !Aman Hottentots.[3] According to Wandres the feud ceased when revenge for the death had been taken, but other accounts imply that it was kept up as a continuous vendetta. Hahn states that

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[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306; Wikar, op. cit., 134; Kohler, loc. cit.; Wandres, op. cit., 276.

[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 74.

[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 16, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, cf. 211; and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1856, p. 274.

628 in case of accidental death the relatives of the deceased would demand compensation in cattle. The murderer also had to slaughter a cow [783] for a purification meal to which he invited his relatives and friends and those of the deceased. He himself was not allowed to eat of the meat, which was consumed by the guests, but was smeared with the blood as a sign of expiation. Von Burgsdorff (Kohler's informant) says, on the other hand, that the blood feud was exercised even when the death was accidental, and that the deed could in no way be compounded. Deliberate murder always provoked blood vengeance. The nearest male relative of the dead man had to seek out the murderer and kill him. If the murderer himself could not be got at, one of his clansmen, preferably a close relative, could be killed in his stead. If the avenger fell in the fight, his next relative had to carry on the feud; while if there were no close relative to avenge the murdered man, his clansmen would feel it an obligation to do so. The formal trial and punishment of a murderer by the tribal council is probably an institution of later days, but we have not enough information about the blood feud to determine the exact relation between these two forms of dealing with homicide.

INTER-TRIBAL RELATIONS

Tribal Seniority

619 It has already been shown, in the course of our discussion, that the nomadic pastoral life of the Hottentots, conditioned by the need 621 of grass and water for their herds, compelled them to live and move in compact, often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, which moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. In this way, for example, the members of a Nama tribe would become scattered over the country in smaller groups, each consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. Such an offshoot might continue to regard itself at first as part of the parent tribe, but as it gradually increased in numbers and strength it would tend to claim independence and ultimately win acknowledgment as a separate tribe.

619 Thus, as we have seen, the seven principal tribes of the indigenous Naman of South-West Africa are all traditionally descended from 648 one line of ancestors, although in spite of this claim to a common ancestry the tribes have for a long time been independent of one

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another. But in 1836 the //Haboben were still part of the people owing obedience to the !Gami ≠Nun chief, while as late as 1855 the 619 chief of the Gei //Khauan expected the //Khau /Goan to obey his orders 648 concerning migrations, etc., although they did not always do so.[1] The Gei //Khauan are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them in line of descent. This acknowledgment, according to Hahn, formerly took the form of a tribute sent annually to the chief of this tribe by all the other Nama chiefs. In 1856 even the Korana chief Pofadder came to do homage to the Gei //Khauan chief Oasib, acknowledging that his tribe, the "Springboks", were a branch [651] of the Gei //Khauan. The last tribute of this kind, which consisted generally in a heifer, *buchu*, spears, copper or iron beads, and milk pails, was paid in 1863.[2]

The official records of the Cape and the accounts of the early Dutch travellers show that among the Cape Hottentots the same tendency existed for groups to branch off and arrogate to themselves the title of separate tribes. Many of the tribes, at the time when they first came into contact with the Dutch, consisted of several distinct divisions, more or less loosely connected together, though all tending to become independent in course of time. Of the local groups found by the Dutch in the immediate vicinity of Table Bay, all, whether Goringhaiqua or Korachouqua, were originally members of one tribe, of which Gogosoa was regarded as the principal chief. This whole tribe, again, seems at one time to have been dependent on the Kochoqua, from whom it subsequently broke away, as was also the case with the Chariguriqua. The Kochoqua themselves in 1652 were found divided into two distinct branches, the senior under a chief named Oedasoa, who considered himself paramount, and the other under Gonnema.[3]

In the same way, the Afrikaners (*//Aixa //Ain*), an Orlam tribe, are said to be an old branch of the present !Aman or Bethanie Hottentots (Amaqua or Chamaqua of the Cape Records), who formerly lived between the Berg and Olifants River in Cape Colony. The !Aman again are a branch of the *//Khauan* (Chauqua of the Cape Records), who lived originally in what is now the district of Worcester in the Cape. The Amraal Hottentots (*Gei //Khauan*) and the Berseba

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[1] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 5, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, 197, and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1858, 18.

[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.

[3] Stow, *Native Races*, 241–3; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, *passim*.

619 Hottentots (*/Hei //Khauan*) are also derived from this tribe, as their
648 names indicate.[1]

It appears from the early records that the greater number of the Cape Hottentot tribes were more or less connected with the *//Khauan*, and acknowledged this tribe as paramount over them. Its principal branch in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Chainoqua, whose chief Soesoa or Sousa visited the Dutch settlement in 1660. Of his reception there by the other Hottentots Stow says, paraphrasing the official records[2]: "Sousa was held in such awe by those of other clans that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects dared come to trade as long as he remained near the fort. They made way for him, and waited upon him with presents of many cattle, to show the respect they owed to the highest king. That his authority was not merely nominal was shown by the fact of his interference in a quarrel between Choro, the chief of the 'Kora-chouqua, and Gonnema, the captain of a branch of the Cochoqua. They had parted in anger, the former having cunningly taken away the wife of the latter. War was imminent between them, until Sousa, the paramount chief, interfered, and threatened to degrade the one who was in the wrong. Such an acknowledgment of his supremacy by the chiefs of the other tribes would make it seem highly probable that the one over which he ruled represented the main trunk of the Hottentot race, from which all the others have been offshoots."

619 The early Dutch records throw some light on the political inter-
relations of the Cape Hottentot tribes. The headmen or "captains"
648 of divisions not long formed recognized the supremacy in rank of the
643 head of the community from which they had branched off, and
acknowledged him as their paramount chief, but unless he happened
622 to be a man of stronger character than the others he exercised no real
power over them. The petty chiefs, or heads of the local groups or
clans, were commonly jealous of one another, and only united their
strength in case of extreme danger to all, while on occasion they might
even fight amongst themselves. There appear to have been constant
jealousies and quarrels between them and between the tribes, with
occasional raids upon each other's cattle and eloping with one another's
619 wives. "This latter amusement," says Stow, perhaps exaggerating
648 somewhat, but having a real foundation for his remark, "seems to have
been a common occurrence among them, and thus became an endless

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[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 96–7, 19.
[2] Op. cit., 243–4; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., i, 40–1.

cause of turmoil and inter-tribal feuds."[1] Often the weaker tribes 619
were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations 648
would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next; but the bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was usually sufficient to break up the alliance—an event repeatedly noted in the relations of the Hottentots with the early Dutch settlers.

The same capricious and unstable element runs through the history of the Nama tribes and their relations towards one another. "On the one hand," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document, signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice."[2] Even the bonds holding the clans together to form a tribe were never very strong, still less was there any possibility for the tribes to be welded together to form a nation.

Treatment of Strangers

Visitors as a rule can pass freely from one tribe to another. Such 574
visits were common amongst the Hottentots themselves, even in the 609
early days, especially between families connected by marriage. There is no mention of any distinctive ceremonial reception accorded to these native visitors, apart from the special rite, recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé, which serves to protect the stranger from the hostile ghosts of the place. Organized trading visits from one Hottentot 439
tribe to another do not appear to have occurred to any extent, if at all.
But, as we have seen, both Bantu peoples and Bergdama would come 609

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[1] Op. cit., 241.

[2] Op. cit., 24. The document referred to, drawn up in 1858, is translated in the *Report on the Administration of S.W. Africa*, 1922.

439 to trade with the Naman, while from the beginnings of the European
609 settlement white traders have moved freely among the Hottentots.
No objection seems to have been raised as a rule to strangers coming in this way into the lands of the tribe. Only when misunderstandings arose or quarrels were provoked through high-handed treatment
[721] would trouble ensue. This happened in 1497, and Vasco da Gama, the first European to meet with the Hottentots, came into conflict with them in St. Helena Bay, and again in 1510, when Francisco d'Almeida, late viceroy of Portuguese India, was killed with sixty-four of his men in a skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay. But on the whole the earliest travellers who, prompted by motives of trade or by curiosity, pushed on to previously unknown tribes, speak of a friendly and even cordial reception.

609 In one instance at least there is a record of special usages governing
574 the reception of strangers in more recent times. The missionary
Hugo Hahn, who in 1844 visited Oasib, chief of the *Gei //Khauan*,
485 writes as follows: "I was received very cordially, and was also given a sheep for slaughter. There has existed in this tribe for some years a sort of police who see to it that every convenience is afforded to strangers—Nama, Bastards, or Europeans. When the traveller descends and outspans, special functionaries take his horse or his oxen, remove the saddle, give the animals water, lead them to pasture and at night bring them into safety from the lions. They take care that he receives enough milk, often also meat, as well as water and wood, and that he is not troubled by the children or other people. He is given a special mat hut, roomy and clean, in which he can rest. If he is alone, one of the men must sleep with him, who keeps the fire going or performs any other necessary services. For me a special sleeping place was prepared, as they know our aversion to lice. When the traveller wishes to depart, he informs one of the attendants, who tells the chief, and at the time indicated his ox or his horse is ready for him, even if it is in the middle of the night. No one thinks of demanding or giving payment. Probably," he goes on to say, "this is a renewal of some good old custom, as I do not know of its like in any of the other tribes."[1]

609 Theophilus Hahn also speaks very highly of the great hospitality
574 to strangers, but adds that if the guest does not ingratiate himself sufficiently, it may well happen that, once they have passed the

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[1] *Tagebuch*, entry under 28th September, 1844, published in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1916, p. 191.

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boundaries of the tribe, his escort, believing that they have now shifted the odium for the deed, may allow their avarice to come to 609
the fore and will plunder all his goods.[1] It is evident, however, that 579
the Hottentots in general are friendly to strangers, and willingly allow them to pass through the land, even if permission has not first been obtained. There is none of that rigid insistence on territorial exclusiveness which has made the Bushmen fight shy of any intrusion upon their lands.

Warfare

Where, however, parties of strangers entering the land wish to 423
make use of it for pasturing their herds or for hunting, permission must first be obtained from the chief. This, as we have seen, is often 721
given freely, while on the other hand a tribute may sometimes be demanded, as the Orlams found when they came into Great Namaqualand. At times permission may even be refused altogether, especially if there is not enough grass or water for all. If encroachment nevertheless takes place, it leads almost inevitably to war. Quarrels over intrusions of this sort are recorded among the Hottentots from the earliest historical times, and are said to have been the most frequent cause of war between neighbouring tribes. Cattle-lifting, especially when the herds have been allowed whether by accident or design to stray over the border, deliberate damage to another tribe's pasture grounds by setting fire to the grass, and the abduction of women are also mentioned as common causes of dispute. Reprisals were sure to follow, and when the one side sought to defend its possessions actual fighting took place. Some of the Cape Hottentot tribes, as a result of such grievances, were almost perpetually at feud with each other, and many are the little wars between them which figure in the early Cape Records.

These wars do not seem to have been attended with much loss of 726
life.[2] The weapons employed were the same as those used in hunting [411]
—the spear, bow and arrow, and the kirri. Before commencing hostilities the injured side might send messengers to their opponents, stating the wrongs of which they complained and demanding adequate satisfaction. If this was refused, all the men of the tribe, under the leadership of their chief, would meet at some appointed place, and

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[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305–6; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 362.

[2] Grevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 368–9; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 143–8; Fritsch, op. cit., 323–4; Stow, op. cit., chaps. xiv–xvi, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, vol. ii, *passim*.

726 proceed without further delay into the enemy's territory. As a rule, however, they preferred to attack by surprise, in order not to allow their opponents time enough to drive their cattle into security. They seized upon all the men, women and cattle that came in their way, and then returned with their booty before they could be attacked. Often enough they would swoop down upon the kraals, as in one of many similar recorded instances where a band of Little Namaqua and Chariguriqua attacked a Kochoqua kraal near Saldanha Bay, killed the chief and as many of the men as they could get hold of, and carried off women, children, and cattle as booty.

If the enemy was prepared to receive them, both sides would first shoot at one another from a distance with their arrows, and then as the one showed signs of weakening the other would close up and the battle resolve itself into a disorder of hand-to-hand fights with the kirri and the spear. Sometimes the fighting-oxen would accompany the men, and when the chief thought the moment opportune, the beasts, goaded to fury, would be driven into the weakest ranks of the enemy, and in the havoc that ensued victory was assured.

728 One such battle as a rule ended the war. As soon as victory was obtained, the conquerors withdrew with their booty, and the defeated enemy, on coming together again, would send messengers to negotiate for peace and to make any necessary concessions. After the foundation of the Dutch settlement the practice developed of requesting its commander to mediate in such cases, which for reasons of policy he was always willing to do; but Graevenbroeck describes a peace-making ceremony which he says was observed in fixed form among the Hottentots themselves. When peace was desired, the two sides came together at their boundary, and after they had agreed upon terms an ox was slaughtered with spears, and the corpse left a prey to wild animals. They then expressed the wish that whoever might break the compact should come to all possible harm, the fate implied being that he might perish pierced through just like the ox, and become the food of vultures and hyenas.[1]

727 The burning of huts or other destruction of property does not seem to have been usual in these wars. Nor as a rule were the dead dismembered or despoiled. They were left untouched where they fell, and the victors, after having buried their own fallen warriors, withdrew and permitted the vanquished also to bury their dead. At times, however, when excited by lust of plunder or in a spirit of revenge,

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[1] Op. cit., 369.

the Hottentots could be ferocious and cruel. They gave no quarter to their enemy, and mercilessly slaughtered all the prisoners falling into their hands. Wikar states that among the tribes along the Orange River the belly of a captive was ripped open while he was still alive, and his entrails were pulled out by hand. Sometimes, if the captive refused to beg for mercy, his genital organs were cut off and he was slapped with them on the mouth. An instance of this occurred while Wikar was travelling among these tribes, in a war between the "Kamingous" (probably the *!Gami ǂNun*) and the "Nanningais" (a group which cannot now be identified). In a battle lasting two days, thirteen of the Nanningais were killed with arrows, and about twenty severely wounded. They captured one of the Kamingou men, and in malicious revenge for the loss they had suffered treated him in the way just described.[1] This is the only record of abnormal cruelty to captives in purely Hottentot wars. It may be noted, however, that in 1850, in a war between the Afrikaners and the OvaHerero, a terrible massacre took place at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and numbers of their women crippled by having their feet chopped off in order to obtain the copper rings worn round their legs.[2] But Jonker Afrikaner, the leader of the victorious Hottentots on this occasion, was an Orlam chief notorious for his ferocity. In none of the early records of inter-tribal wars among the Cape Hottentots do we meet with instances of savagery comparable to this. 727

Firearms and the horse naturally made a tremendous difference to Hottentot methods of fighting. In their wars amongst themselves, against the OvaHerero and later against the Germans, the Naman were able to conduct campaigns often protracted over several months or even a year or more. Their strength lay in guerilla warfare, to which the nature of their country readily lent itself.[3] Its vast surfaces, waterless wastes and difficult rocky hills hindered pursuit by the enemy, and afforded safe refuge to the natives, familiar with every detail of their environment. The cattle which they drove with them afforded a standing subsistence, water could be found in remote spots or on rocky heights known only to the native herd or hunter, and an open kraal of bushes was ample shelter at night. 726

In attack the experience gained in hunting could readily be applied. "To the Hottentot," says Schultze, "our troops are a form of game,

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[1] "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 93.

[2] Vedder, "The Nama," 129.

[3] The principal discussions of Nama methods of fighting are given by von François, *Nama und Damara*, 132, 226, chaps. iv–v *passim*; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 336–9.

726 which he hunts all the more confidently if he knows their habits from previous encounters. While our soldiers are ever learning anew at the cost of many lives, the Hottentot employs his old tactics. He lies in wait for the enemy at a waterhole, as formerly he awaited the zebra at the vlei; he fires upon a passing column from his rocky retreats, as he ambushed the springboks wandering in herds; he stalks round a weak patrol as round the gemsbok at dawn, and he surrounds a transport as he beats up the hares in an encircling drive to knock them down with the kirri." They preferred above all to lay ambushes, especially in the vicinity of waterholes, since the enemy both needed the water and usually came to it weary. As a rule difficult spots were chosen to fight in, which afforded good cover and facilities for retreat, if necessary; or else the flat tops of high hills were occupied, whose last ascent was almost vertical. The leading ranks of the enemy were allowed to pass by or to approach very closely; and then a general volley was fired into their midst. Their natural colour allowed the Hottentots to make use of every possible cover, and rendered it difficult for the approaching enemy to discover the position they occupied. Signals were often given on pipes cut from the horn of the springbok. It was one of the duties of the sub-chief to ascertain if any post or waterhole which was being approached was occupied by the enemy. He rode round it reconnoitring, while his men lay hidden near by, until a long drawn-out note caused them to emerge. Short successive blasts, to be answered by the men lying opposite or to the side, were generally the prearranged signal for attack.

726 643 Their raiding expeditions, as illustrated in the many successful descents made by Hendrik Witbooi upon the OvaHerero, were carried out with great skill and remarkable swiftness. He issued directions for the undertaking proposed only on the evening before he planned to set out. Then by forced marches he covered in two days the hundred miles or so lying between him and the Herero territory, after causing deliberately false reports as to the object of his expedition to be circulated among the OvaHerero. With overwhelming force he fell at dawn on their scattered villages, swept through a number of cattle posts, whose herdsmen were defenceless before his superior might, and drove away the cattle. This he did with remarkable adroitness, considering the great numbers he lifted. One of his men would give a penetrating whistle, whereupon the cattle were surrounded and driven sharply in a certain direction. Then one or two horsemen placed themselves at the head of the herds and conducted them without

726 643 rest along a route well known to them; and then, joined by several more horsemen and the bulk of the men on foot, the cattle were escorted in forced marches by the most direct route to Hoornkranz, the headquarters of the tribe. Most of the horsemen remained behind to keep back the OvaHerero who in the meanwhile had gathered together. In regulating these retirements Hendrik was a real master, and he seldom made a mistake. If there was a biggish village in the vicinity, he would keep its inhabitants engaged until he knew that the stolen cattle had been driven far ahead; then he disappeared as swiftly as he had descended, and he always flung obstacles in the way of pursuit.

726 In retreat small parties were often posted at various spots to check the advance of the enemy; or, if the country was flat, the grass was set on fire, and the men disappeared behind the clouds of smoke. There was no orderly withdrawal. After a defeat the troops would scatter apart, to come together again later in small bands. The appointed place of assembly was not directly in line with the scene of battle, but to the side, sometimes even to the rear of the enemy. Their knowledge of the place and their colour, as well as their swiftness on horse or on foot, enabled the Hottentots to find security; sometimes they even hid in the immediate vicinity, and they always, if possible, fled over stony ground, so as to avoid leaving tracks. At best the enemy might see in the distance horsemen and those on foot scattered over a wide surface between bushes and rocks; almost immediately afterwards all had disappeared, and effective pursuit was seldom possible.

726 789 Of the special usages connected with warfare, only a few isolated facts have been recorded. These almost all relate to what may be loosely termed war magic. "If a party goes out on warlike expeditions," says Hahn, "a crow's heart is burned and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this powdered heart is blown into the air, in the same manner their enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows." Elsewhere he mentions that the Korana have certain roots which they use as amulets. If a commando goes out, every man will put such roots into his pockets and into the pouch where he carries his bullets, believing that the arrows or bullets of the enemy will then have no effect, whereas his own will invariably prove destructive. Also, if they have carried off much booty, or stolen cattle of the enemy, they light these roots, and say: "We thank thee, our grandfather's root, that thou hast given us cattle to eat.

726 Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not
follow us until we have safely escaped." Schultze mentions another
789 practice, which almost seems to be a fragment of what may have been
a developed ceremonial performed preparatory to a warlike expedition.
To steel himself to his bloody work, he says, any man who has not
yet killed an enemy must drink the blood of a slaughtered animal
before going out against the foe.[1]

726 Omens enter very largely into the life of the warrior. Sudden
787 ringing of the ears or the flying of an insect into one's mouth is a
sign of misfortune. A halo round the moon signifies that somewhere
[821] a decisive battle has been fought and the cattle of the vanquished
driven off.[2] The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen.
Hunting parties or an expedition of war will certainly return home.
//Gaunabi ge dake ha, they say, " we are overpowered by *//Gauna* " ;
and they commence to cry aloud, *torob ni ha*, *//o ge ni*, " war is
approaching, we are going to die."[3] Dreams are usually regarded
as of great import, and the faculty of seeing in them the future or
events taking place at a great distance has driven many Hottentot
[643] leaders into taking a decisive step. Hendrik Witbooi, perhaps the
greatest of the Nama warrior chiefs, is said to have first received the
idea of making himself the dominant native chief in South-West Africa,
an idea which he strenuously strove to convert into reality, through a
vision in which he saw all the Hottentot tribes united into one nation
under his leadership, fighting against and annihilating the OvaHerero.[4]

727 One other practice is mentioned by Hahn, which hints at something
554 similar to the rites formerly observed in connection with big game
hunting, but of which there is unfortunately no further information.
" Bravery was highly admired," he says, " and girls used to meet the
victorious heroes who returned to the kraals laden with booty,
singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony.
[304] The priest or */gaiaob* cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man
with a flint (*sic*) stone, and he received then on such an occasion a
cognomen as *Xama-/gamteb*, Lion-killer, *//Otsãtamab*, The One who
cannot die, *Aogu-//ōb*, Destroyer of heroes, etc." Names of places
and rivers up to this day, he adds, tell us of battles once fought, such
as *!Khami* and *!Khams*, Battlefield ; *!Kho-//oa-tes*, " You cannot
catch me " ; *!Khotoas*, the one last caught ; *ǂKxixas*, peace ; and
!Huritamas, " I am not afraid."[5]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90, 82 ; Schultze, op. cit., 339.
[2] Schultze, loc. cit.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89.
[4] Schultze, loc. cit. ; Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 52.
[5] Op. cit., 23–4.

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death, Burial, and Mourning

In dealing with the social, economic, and political life of the 000
Hottentots, we have had occasion to notice in various connections ceremonies and beliefs of a ritual character. For example, all the observances and avoidances centring in the conception of *!nau*, as well as the rites and beliefs developed round hunting and war, really form part of the magico-religious or sacred aspect of Hottentot life. But they are so intimately associated with more profane activities that to discuss them separately would have been to divorce them from their proper context in native life, and thus to overlook their real significance. The beliefs and usages relating to death, on the other hand, lead more directly to a consideration of religion, since this supreme and final crisis in human life is one of the most important sources for the Hottentot conceptions of supernatural agencies.

The coming of death into the world is related by the Hottentots 773
in a myth which varies but slightly from that told by the Bushmen. 761
The Moon, it is said, once sent the louse to Men, saying, "Go to Men, and tell them, 'As I die and dying live, so you shall also die and dying live.'" The louse started with the message, but on its way was overtaken by the Hare, who asked on what errand it was bound. The louse repeated to him the message of the Moon. Then the Hare said, "As you are an awkward runner, let me take the message." With these words he ran off, and when he reached Men, he said, "I am sent by the Moon to tell you, 'As I die and dying perish, in the same manner you shall also die and come wholly to an end.'" Then he returned to the Moon, and told him what he had said to Men. The Moon thereupon angrily reproached him, saying, "Did you dare to tell the people a thing I did not say?" and taking up a piece of wood he struck the Hare on the lip. Since that day the hare's lip is split.
There are several other variants of this myth, but in all of them the 773
hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise 761
of immortality sent to mankind by the moon. Its flesh is consequently
forbidden to men: "We are now angry with the hare," say the old 262

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761 Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore
[262] we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy
761 them," or to the */hei /nun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people
775 or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave.
754 The *!gei aogu* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gauab*, or the */Hei /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft
761 practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances,
784 and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of *!nau*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

761 It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

[761] Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other
766 mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

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[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170–1 and Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 448–9; translated versions in Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 118–19; Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, 69–73; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1915, p. 253.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85–6; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 517–21 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 520–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 87.

[4] "South-West Africa," 27.

might be buried alive, or else placed in some exposed spot or in bushes 766
to be destroyed by the elements or by wild animals.[1] Similarly,
according to Hahn, "a man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave killed by the
master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of
the desert to be feasted upon, so that they will be entirely annihilated."
Such people who are devoured by vultures or hyenas are called
//gauna //ora khoin, i.e. people who died the *//gauna* death.[2]

There existed among the Hottentots also the custom, already 888
noted among the Bushmen, of abandoning elderly people to their
fate. Kolb describes it rather more fully than do other writers.
When old people become helpless or decrepit, he says, their eldest
son or nearest relation applies to the people of the kraal for permission,
never refused, to relieve himself of the burden and to deliver the
suffering old person from the miserable condition to which he is [574]
reduced. The son kills an ox or a few sheep to regale the men of the
kraal, who take leave of their old neighbour. Then, on the appointed
day, the old man or woman is placed on a riding ox and, accompanied
by an escort, is conducted to a small hut specially built for the purpose
at some distance from the kraal. Here he is left alone, with a small
quantity of provisions placed by his side, to die ultimately of starvation
or to be devoured by wild beasts.[3]

This account may not be quite accurate in all its details. But there 888
is ample evidence that the exposure of old people in this way was 754
common and widespread among all the Hottentots.[4] Hahn, inquiring
into the reason for the practice, was told by the Naman that it was
sometimes done by very poor people who had not enough food to
support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if
there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle
and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the
influence of *//Gaunab*, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft,
they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken,
were almost compelled to fly from them."[5]

Where burial takes place, it is accompanied by a series of rites. 764

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[1] Cf. above, p. 266.

[2] Op. cit., 86.

[3] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 133.

[4] Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 24; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 358; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 428; Albrecht, "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 204; Shaw, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 40–1; Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 133–6 Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334.

[5] Op cit., 86; cf. 74.

Cape Hottentots

764 Among the Cape Hottentots, according to some of the old writers,[1] a person when in the last agonies of dying was surrounded by his friends and relatives, who wailed and writhed in lamentation, the outburst of grief reaching its climax as soon as actual death had occurred. The body while still warm was bent so as to bring the head between the legs, and in this position it was wrapped and tied up in the kaross worn by the dead person during life. Dapper and, perhaps following him, Sparrman state that the corpse was sometimes buried quite nude, but this is contradicted by all other writers.

Burial took place soon after death, if possible on the same day, or at latest on the following morning. There were no special burial grounds or recognized grave-yards. Immediately after the death had taken place, the head of the kraal, with several of the men, went out to look for a suitable spot, where the grave was at once made. It took the form of a deep hole, in one side of which was hollowed out a special niche for the reception of the body. Sometimes they did not trouble to dig a grave, but selected a convenient cleft in a rock or the hole of some wild animal instead.

The body meanwhile was prepared for burial in the manner noted. When everything was ready, three or four men were appointed by the kraal head or by the relatives of the deceased to carry it in their arms to the grave. It was never taken out through the door of the hut, but through an opening specially made for the purpose by removing part of the mat-covering at the back. While this was going on, all the inhabitants of the kraal not concerned with the funeral preparations gathered before the hut, and squatted in front of the entrance, men and women apart, all lamenting loudly. As soon as the body was brought out, they followed it in two separate groups to the place of burial, still lamenting and wailing. Here the body was stuck into the hole or lowered into the grave, and placed in a sitting position in the niche. The grave was then filled in with earth, and afterwards covered over with a heap of large stones and branches, so as to prevent wild animals from getting at the body. Apparently no objects of any kind were placed in or on the grave. Fritsch, it is true, says that the possessions of the dead person were buried with him, but this is denied by most of the other writers.

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[1] The description here given is based mainly upon Kolb, op. cit., 155–8, supplemented from Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten, Tweede Deel*, 274; Sparrman, op. cit., i, 357–8; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 194–5; Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, i, 350; Fritsch, op. cit., 335.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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Nama

Cape Hottentots

The funeral over, everybody returned to the kraal. Here, according 765 to Kolb, the men and the women again squatted apart in front of the hut, repeating their wailing and frequently calling on the dead person by name. At last silence fell, and the oldest of the men arose, entered the circle first of the men and then of the women, and besprinkled [514] them with his urine. Then he entered the hut through the door, took some ashes from the hearth, came out through the opening previously made in the back, and strewed the ashes over all the people, who rubbed them into their bodies. Some of the near relatives also took cowdung and smeared it over their arms, legs and body. Then they all separated and went to their huts. The family of the deceased, however, did not dare to enter the hut where he had died, but sought accommodation with other people.

On the following day all the huts in the kraal were taken down 765 and the people left the locality; but the hut of the dead person was left standing with all its belongings. 768 Nothing might be taken from it. Before the departure, the heir of the dead person slaughtered a sheep, and such of the other near relatives as could afford it did the same. All who had been present at the funeral were then feasted with this meat. The caul of the sheep he had slaughtered was thickly strewn with *buchu*, twisted into a cord, and hung round the neck of the heir, where he had to wear it until it rotted away. The other relatives likewise hung about their necks the cauls of the sheep they had killed. Poor relatives, if they could not afford to slaughter an animal and hence were unable to procure a caul, shaved their heads in furrowed ridges as a sign that they too were in mourning.

It is uncertain from Kolb's account just which people were expected 765 to mourn, and whether the signs of mourning varied according to the relationship of the mourners to the deceased. An earlier description speaks of all the men of a large kraal having their heads shaved as a sign of mourning, but as the dead person concerned was their chief, [766] the usage in this case may not have been the one customary in ordinary deaths.[1] At the same time, there is nothing to indicate whether the funerary rites for chiefs differed in any way from those for commoners. There is also no clear indication how long the period of mourning lasted, and whether any special prohibitions and other usages had to be observed by the mourners during this period. Kolb simply says that the lamentations might be kept up for three or four days or even a week after the death, but throws no further light on the question.

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[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 209.

765 His whole account, indeed, leaves much to be desired. Its main points of interest, perhaps, are the usages preliminary to burial, the purification ceremony afterwards and the funeral feast, and the abandonment of the locality. The description of the funeral itself is very sketchy, and unfortunately no other writer gives further details.

178 764 783 784 The series of rites connected with death and burial among the Naman have been more fully described,[1] but as found at present they have undergone some disintegration. "They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial." These rites fall into the category of those associated with the conception of *!nau*, and in them the sacramental meal and the cleansing are still of importance. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle of the deceased. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes *!nau*, but his relatives—brothers, sisters, parents—also have to perform certain special rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. Similarly, if a woman dies her husband becomes *!nau*, while her own blood relatives perform certain other rites; and when a child has died both parents become *!nau* and have to undergo the usual rites associated with this condition.

764 As soon as a death has taken place, the body of the person is prepared for burial. Formerly according to a description given by Scheppmann, the hands were crossed over the breast, and the head bent forward between the legs, which were sharply folded at the knee. The body was then fastened together and wrapped in skins.[3] Hahn adds that before the body was wrapped up in this way or sewn up in skins, the son of the dead man first killed a goat and smeared the body of his father with the blood[4]—a practice not mentioned by other writers. Nowadays the eyes of the dead person are closed, then the body is washed by old women, and stretched flat on its back; the arms lie along the sides, and the hands, palm downward, are folded

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[1] The principal authorities are: Schultze, op. cit., 316–17; Biden and Kling, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Hottentots," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, ii (1912), 223–5; Hoernlé, "The Conception of !nau," 79–81; cf. also Albrecht, "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 205; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 333; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 99–100; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 216.

[2] Op. cit., 79.

[3] "Beschreibung von Keetmansdorff," in Moritz, op. cit., 1916, 244.

[4] Loc. cit.

over the bosom. The body is then wrapped and sewn up in skins, 764 whose hairy side, strewn with *buchu*, is turned inwards. The face remains free till shortly before burial, when it is covered with a bit of skin which has been set aside and which is now loosely stitched to the others.[1] Biden and Kling add that in these more degenerate days the body may sometimes be sewn up in old bags, if obtainable, and a small amount of salt is placed on its chest, "to prevent it from decomposing."[2] Burial takes place as a rule on the afternoon following the day of death. Till then the corpse is left alone lying on the ground skins in the hut, while the relatives, neighbours, and friends spend the whole night together outside the hut singing.

A suitable spot is selected in the vicinity of the kraal, where a grave [412] is dug in the sand by means of a gemsbok horn and a roughly-made wooden shovel. The grave is about three feet broad and six deep, with a long narrow niche along one side. The body is taken out of the hut through a special opening made for the purpose at the back, and is carried to the grave by the deceased's relatives and friends. Arrived at the graveside, one of the women, according to Biden and Kling, is appointed to approach the body and ask a relative whether the deceased gave drink to others when he was alive, i.e. whether he was a good person. "Whereupon all the women reply 'da' (yes), and the deceased is praised even if there is no cause why he should be praised. All the women arise and walk towards the grave and sprinkle *buchu*-leaves on the body."[3] The body is then lowered into the grave by means of riems, and two men climb in after it to push it into the niche. According to Schultze, it is laid here flat on its back, with the grave itself on the right hand side and the head facing west.[4] Biden and Kling, and several of the older writers, state however that it is placed in a squatting position, with the head always facing east. This certainly seems to have been the posture desired in earlier times.[5]

The niche is closed in with thick bushes or with twigs and stones which cover the whole floor of the grave. Large flat stones are next placed over these in such a way that no ground can fall upon the body. The grave is then filled in, everybody present picking up handfuls of earth and sand which they throw in. Finally a mound of stones is heaped up over the covered grave, the customary explanation being that this prevents wild animals from getting at the corpse. These mounds are often raised very high. A big stone, planted upright

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., 316.
[2] Op. cit., 223.
[3] Op. cit., 223-4.
[4] Loc. cit.
[5] Biden and Kling, loc. cit.; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 65.

764 in the heap and projecting about a foot or so, indicates the head end of the grave; occasionally also the gemsbok horn used in excavating the grave is placed in this position. Everybody adds a stone or twig to the mound, which is afterwards strewn with *buchu*. Any relative or friend of the dead person unable to be present at the funeral will also, on visiting the kraal, go to the grave and place something of the sort on the mound. Cold water is likewise thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. "The reason given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the 'seventies of last century was that it 'cooled the soul of the deceased'."[1]

765 When the people come back from the grave, all the inmates of the kraal, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, which is placed in front of the dead man's hut. Cold water is also sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. The explanation given for this washing is that the people would get sick if they did not do so, and the cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.[2] Meanwhile, the dead man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood into one or more pots.[3] The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others, all the different families who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and mixed with a certain herb, and then is stirred about with a chopper, which has been heated red hot, in order to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the dead man—men, women and children—collect round the pots and cover their heads with their karosses so that they perspire. Then an old [302] man, related neither to the deceased nor to the widow, takes potblack and makes a line on the stomach of each person—"to prevent their getting pains from eating the food." The flesh which has been cooking is now eaten by the relatives only, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. These rites—the sweating, the putting on of the black line, and the eating—are all done in the dead person's hut. It may be noticed here that the removal of the

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[1] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 517; Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 113.

[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

[3] The description which follows is taken from Mrs. Hoernlé's account in "The Conception of !nau", loc. cit.

It may be noticed here, that the removal of the kraal from the place of death, as mentioned by Kolb and the other writers on the Cape Hottentots, does not now take place among the Naman. Some of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants stated that in the early days of their recollection the hut of the dead person was always moved to some other part of the camp,[1] whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all; and this latter point Mrs. Hoernlé was able to confirm from personal observation. 765 [768 178]

The widow takes no part in the rites just described—"she doesn't belong to the man's family," said one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants indignantly in reply to a question. But from the moment the death has taken place she has become *!nau*, and must observe the restrictions attendant upon this condition. How long she remains *!nau* Mrs. Hoernlé could not ascertain. According to some informants, several days may elapse between the burial and the final cleansing, while on the other hand the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. During the interval, whether it is long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is thoroughly cleansed from head to foot with moist cowdung, then her whole body is rubbed with a mixture of fat and red mineral powder, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it, and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." She also puts on a complete set of new clothes. All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her," and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely." The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow takes the contents of the animal's stomach, and together with the old woman, who goes in front, scatters them over the cattle kraals, saying "let there be plenty of milk". Then follows the milking of a cow, the fetching of wood, and finally the reintroduction to water, all as in the case of the girls' puberty ceremony. 765 783

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[1] Cf. Shaw, *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, p. lxxvii; Schultze, op. cit., 227.

765 783 [304] If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the widower is much the same, save for a few additional details. After he has been cleansed, two cuts are made on his forehead, and the juice of a certain astringent plant, *//ubus*, is rubbed in. The hair is also cut from the back of his head. In the old days the cutting in both cases was done with a sharp piece of quartz. Before he has been finally cleansed in this way the widower must not leave the hut. After the hut has also been cleaned by the removal of the fire, etc., some tamarisk and acacia branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water, just as in the re-marriage ceremonies. With this act the immediate mourning rites come to an end. There is no mention of any subsequent rites, or of any further mourning ceremonies.

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

775 The Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead have not been investigated in sufficient detail; and concrete information on the subject is contained only in a few fragmentary, but nevertheless important, observations. These leave untouched many problems which arise, and the following description cannot, therefore, be regarded as fully adequate. But it seems safe to say, in the light of the available information, that the Hottentots have no definite conception of an after-world or special land of the dead, nor is there any established theory of reincarnation. Olpp in a short sentence expresses concisely what appears to be the general Hottentot doctrine: "They believe that the soul of a dead person goes with him into the grave, from which it has the faculty of emerging at will as a ghost, in either luminous or terrifying form."[1]

775 192 This statement can be amplified somewhat. The ghosts of the dead are known to the Naman by several names—most commonly as */hei /nun*, "fawn feet"; sometimes as */hei khoin*, "fawn-coloured people," or *sobo khoin*, "people of the shadow"; and also as *//gaunagu*.[2] This last term is of special importance. It is the masculine plural form of *//Gaunab*, and *//Gaunab* is one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth, just as he is in the religion of the Northern Bushmen. The term *//gauniab* itself may be used in the singular for "ghost", as appears from a saying noted by

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[1] *Angra* [illegible], 29.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85, 143; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 517, 519.

Cape Hottentots

ahn : *//naũa //gauna ta ni*, I will hear it, if I am a *//gauna*." "This 775
eans," says Hahn, "if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight 192
to things, which I now do not understand."[1] There is no doubt,
oreover, that the mythical being *//Gaunab* also is intimately linked
with the ghosts of the dead. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants,
fact, insisted very earnestly that the */hei /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*.
The names are two," he said, "but the thing is one."[2] This close
nnection between *//Gaunab* and the ghosts of the dead is a point
which we shall have to recur.

The question now arises whether all dead people become ghosts 775
the same sort, or whether some distinction is made in their fate
cording to their circumstances in life—sex, age, social status,
anner of death, etc. On this point there is very little concrete
formation. Schultze states that people who die tranquilly also live
ildly in the dreams of the survivors, whereas a man dying in great
gony or raving madly appears to the living at night as a terrible
hantom.[3] This implies a distinction similar to that found among
me of the North-Western Bushmen between "good deaths" and
bad deaths", and suggests that only the ghosts of the latter are to
dreaded. There is, however, no other mention of this particular
stinction, and, as we shall see, it appears that all ghosts are dreaded
a rule. Hahn, again, states that some people are said to die from
e influence of *//Gaunab*, and these are called *//Gauna //ōra khoin*,
people who died the *//Gauna* death." "Especially if people are
t buried, but devoured by vultures and hyenas, they are also
nsidered *//gauna //ōra*."[4] He does not say, however, if the ghosts
such people are regarded as in any way different from those of
ople who die ordinary deaths and are buried, nor is there anything
indicate that they are more dreaded.

The ghosts are thought to hover over the graves or to come from
em; in general, that is, they linger round the locality where the
ath has taken place. This point was made long ago by Kolb in
scussing the Cape Hottentot beliefs concerning the dead. The
ople fear, he says, that the dead may return and molest them. For
is reason, when anybody has died, they all remove from the locality,
lieving that the dead person only haunts the place where he has
ed. Only if anything is taken from the hut of the dead person will
s ghost follow them and trouble them.[5] The Naman, as we have

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[1] Op. cit., 85.
[2] Op. cit., 521.
[3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 317.
[4] Op. cit., 85–6.
[5] Op. cit., 62–3; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 338.

775 seen, do not now move the kraal or even the hut of the dead person after a death has taken place among them; but we have already noted an illustration that the same belief exists among them, in the rites to be performed when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt the place, and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. So, too, when a man goes visiting relatives elsewhere he must be specially protected from the ghosts of that locality.[1] Vedder describes the same belief in somewhat different form when he says: "He who treads on a grave, passes on unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger, has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge."[2]

These remarks show that the attitude of the living towards the ghost is on the whole one of dread. Nowadays, says Mrs. Hoernlé, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the */hei /nun*, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. "If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the */hei /nun* would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them."[3]

[761 Underlying this dread is the belief that the */hei /nun*, the ghosts,
753] cause most of the sickness and death, either in themselves, or through
the *ǂgei aogu*, the magicians.[4] Often, when a man has died, he
[787] appears to a member of his family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes,
he will say, *//gán osi, !uri ǂkóp /gúiba ta go mu*, "no flesh, a white
bone alone I saw." The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them—one of the family will die. Again, when people are alone the */hei /nun* come chasing them, "and I have had many an instance given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the */hei /nun* were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag

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[1] V. above, p. 289.
[2] "The Nama," 133.
[3] Op. cit., 518. A similar instance indicating great fear of skeletons is recorded by Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Afrika*, ii, 35–6.
[4] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 87.

their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them."[1] And Hahn likewise states that the ghosts are believed to leave their graves on dark nights and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. "This kind of spectres go by the special name of */hausan*. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death."[2] 775

Biden and Kling record the same belief in a somewhat different form as it occurs among the disorganized Hottentots of Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, which at the same time has certain additional points of interest.[3] For a few weeks after the death the male relatives of the deceased go to the grave every morning before sunrise, quite naked, and pray to the *thas* (ghost). The idea of visiting the grave in a nude state is that the ghost cannot catch them! They talk to the grave and sprinkle *buchu* leaves on it, and beseech the ghost to do them no harm and to leave them undisturbed at night time. After a month or so they suppose that the ghost has eft the grave, and has entered an animal called by them "*thas* ackals".[4] They say that this animal—"the house of the ghosts of he deceased people"—leaves its shelter at night time only, and glides along the ground like a shadow; no one has ever actually seen it, but it is described as having a very large head. They believe it to be very strong and immortal, and no attempt has ever been made to kill it. It has never been caught, and another belief, distinctly trace-ble to contact with the early Dutch colonists, says that it can only be killed with a silver bullet. When the animal at night makes a noise, "tha . . . tha . . . tha . . .", the people cover themselves with heir karosses; and if they happen to be at their evening meal when his noise is heard, each throws some food backwards in order to atisfy the animal, so that no harm may come to them. The cry of his "*thas* jackals" is said to be much louder than that of any other nocturnal animals. [292 782] [177]

It may be noted in connection with this belief that, according o Oipp, the Naman of South-West Africa maintain that a certain ittle animal, called */has*, stands in close rapport with certain people. As soon as these people quarrel with anybody, it comes along unseen, nd throws dust against the enemy, at the same time crying shrilly *á-há-há*.[5] This is obviously the animal referred to by Biden and

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[1] Loc. cit. [2] Op. cit., 85. [3] Op. cit., 224-5.
[4] The word "jackals" (jackal) is, of course, taken over from the Dutch. [5] Op. cit., 30.

2b

775 Kling. Olpp unfortunately does not state who the "certain people" are, who are befriended in this way. The Naman, however, [791] believe that the *!gei aogu*, magicians, are somehow in contact with the */hei /nun*, although we are nowhere told how this contact is established. If, therefore, the belief that the */hei /nun* may take the form of the */has jackals* is accurately reported by Biden and Kling, one would suppose that the people referred to by Olpp must be the magicians. But this is only conjecture.

Some light is thrown upon this medley of beliefs, as well as upon the other manifestations of the ghosts, by certain facts which Schultze records about *//Gaunab*.[1] To him *//Gaunab* is merely a mythical being ("Fabelwesen"), and he does not connect the name either with the personage figuring so prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naman, or with the ghosts of the dead. *//Gaunab*, he says, has the faculty of assuming human and animal form at will. The Naman conceive of him as having human shape, with ribs drawn over the flesh, and with feet the length of arms. "As quickly as a flame shoots up out of the glowing embers and then sinks down," said one of his informants, so quickly does *//Gaunab* come at night into a hut and steal a child. He hastens with his captive to a hole which he has dug in the loose soil, and rides on the child until it is stifled in the dust. By day he can also take on the form of a klipbok, jackal, or any other animal, which does not flee from men, since it is invulnerable; but in human shape he appears only in the distance, as in spite of all disguise he can be recognized by his facial features.

It is evident, from what has already been said, that these facts must be interpreted as referring to the ghosts. The word *//gaunab* itself is used for a ghost; the human shape which this "mythical being" is said to possess may be compared with the form in which ghosts appear to people in dreams; the abduction and stifling of a child in a hole is equivalent to saying that the ghosts drag their victims off to the grave; and the invulnerability of *//Gaunab* in animal form is paralleled by the beliefs relating to the */has jackals*. The latter, if this identification is accepted, must therefore be regarded not as a form in which all ghosts become reincarnated, but rather as one of the forms they may assume at will. There is no ground for supposing that the Hottentots have a definite doctrine of reincarnation or transmigration of the soul such as is implied in the account given by Biden and Kling.

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[1] Op. cit., 450–1.

To counteract the danger threatened by the ghosts, various 775
protective measures are employed. Some of these we have already
noted. When visiting an old locality of the tribe, one takes wet clay 751
from the waterhole and puts it on the body, at the same time saying a spell; when visiting a strange kraal, again, one is smeared on the forehead with wet clay and potblack. In both cases one comes in contact with the waters of the locality, and so, to use Mrs. Hoernlé's words, "is identified with the place and its spirits."[1] Again, at the burial of a dead person, cold water is poured on the grave, "to cool the soul of the deceased," and to keep him from troubling; or *buchu* leaves are sprinkled over the grave, and the ghost is asked not to disturb the people. Vedder states also that the stones heaped upon the grave are intended not only to protect the corpse from being damaged by wild animals, but actually also, in order to prohibit it from rising up again.[2] This second explanation, however, is not corroborated by other writers. Afterwards, on returning to the kraal, cold water is sprinkled on the place where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried; this prevents the sickness that was there from spreading. All the inmates of the kraal, moreover, with the exception of the near relatives, wash their hands in cold water; they would get sick if they did not do so. The relatives, however, especially the near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people: the dead member of their family will appear to them in their sleep and cause them to sicken and die. Hence they must go through the much longer process of purification—sweating, putting on of potblack on the stomach, and eating of a ceremonial meal—already described in connection with the funeral rites.

Again, when a whirlwind, a *Sarés*, comes swirling through a kraal 821
and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and 751
throw it in the path of the wind. If they did not take this precaution
someone would surely die. Now the other name for *Sarés*, the 775
whirlwind, is *//Gaunab*, and this tells us why the wind is a thing of ill omen. It is a form which the */hei /nun* or *//Gaunab* can take, "it hides in its mass departed spirits which forbode ill for the living," and therefore it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken—and these precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.[3]

In connection with this association between the ghosts and the 821
whirlwind may be mentioned another belief, recorded by Schultze, 775

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[1] Op. cit., 319–20.

[2] "The Nama," 133.

[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 318–19.

821 that any change in weather, from calm to storm, from cold to heat,
775 etc., is regarded as sent by the dead. He quotes the case where certain
big cirrus clouds which appeared were held to have been sent by a
white man who had recently died. He further states that rain, storm,
or thick clouds, appearing about a week after a death has taken place,
are here and there regarded as a sign that the gall is fleeing from the
putrefying body.[1]

769 There is some evidence also of worship offered to dead people.
The clearest indication of this is seen in a conversation between Hahn
782 and a Nama woman well-known to him. He met her travelling on
775 the outskirts of the Kalahari, and thereupon asked her what she was
doing so far away from her home. She replied that her family was
in great distress, and therefore she was going to "pray and weep"
at the grave of her father, who had died in the hunting fields, and he
would give luck to her husband in hunting. "'But your father is
dead,' I said, 'how will he help you?' 'Yes, he is dead,' she answered,
'but he only sleeps! We Khoikhoi always, if we are in trouble,
go and pray at the graves of our grandparents and ancestors; it
is an old custom of ours.'"[2]

775 This statement, it will be noticed, implies that dead people are
not wholly dreaded as ghosts which cause sickness and death; they
can also be invoked to help their descendants. There is thus an
ambivalent attitude towards them on the part of the living. No
definite information, unfortunately, is available as to the relationship
between the two aspects of this attitude. It is possible, perhaps,
that a distinction is made between the spirit of the deceased on the
one hand, and the ghost on the other, the latter being held to arise
not from the "soul", as suggested by Olpp, but from the corpse,
since it is sometimes described as having the form of something like
[821] a skeleton. And in this connection it may be noted that Hahn quotes
certain sayings, that "the Stars are the eyes of the deceased", and
also that "the Stars are the souls of the deceased", which he regards
as indications of belief in a future life. As additional argument he
adduces a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune
fall on thee, from the star of my grandfather!"[3] These beliefs are
not mentioned by any other writer on the Hottentots, although
something similar to them is found among the Bushmen, but Hahn
is on the whole a reliable authority. The sayings he records may

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[1] Op. cit., 317.
[2] Op. cit., 85, 109.
[3] Op. cit., 112-13.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama.

be taken to hint that the dead do not merely become ghosts. The 775
spirit or rather soul of the dead person might then be looked upon as capable of doing good, while the ghost arising from his body is something to be dreaded. But this again is pure conjecture, justified only by the absence of adequate data. As already indicated, the Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead stand in need of much fuller investigation.

Hahn gives no further information about the nature, occasions, 769
and extent of the worship of the dead. It will be noticed, however, 782
from the conversation recorded by him, that the prayers have to be 788
offered at the graves of the dead. This fact can be linked up with other usages of the Hottentots. Olpp states that when a man passes the grave of an "ancestor", he will place one hand on the nape of his neck, throw a stone or twig on the mound, and offer a prayer for health, many children, and much stock.[1] We have already come across the placing of stones or twigs on the grave as part of the actual burial ceremony; but it has been observed by many writers, from Müller in 1655 right up to the present, that this act is also performed by Hottentots whenever they happen to be passing one of the stone heaps marking a grave.[2] Olpp, as just shown, says that it is accompanied by prayer. This is not mentioned by some other writers. To take an early account first, Thunberg, who travelled in the eastern districts of the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century, writes as follows: "By the side of the road I observed a stone heap covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there."[3] And Biden and Kling, writing in 1912, state that: "A peculiarity of the Hottentots in doing homage to their dead is what they call 'heidje eibib'. In the event of a grave being close to a road where the Hottentots continually pass to and fro, the wayfarers throw a stone on the mound when passing by. This is a sign of honour to the deceased, and this duty is strictly observed where there are graves of ancestors of the Hottentots. There is a large 'heidje eibib' at Seygerkraal, near O'okiep [Little Namaqualand]; the Hottentots say that this grave is that of one of their great-grandfathers who originally came from another country."[4]

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[1] Op. cit., 29.
[2] Müller, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 19; Grevenbroeck, op. cit., 271; Hahn, op. cit., 46-8 (quoting Sparrman and Lichtenstein).
[3] Quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 45.
[4] Op. cit., 205.

769 This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition
782 of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the
788 corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear
to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what
[773] these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the
heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

[773] Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the
religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib.*

Worship of the Moon

778 All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more
771 or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional
787 religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the
great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

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[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 166.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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Cape Hottentots

There is, however, some ground for supposing that, like the Bushmen, they formerly invoked the Moon. A number of the earliest 771
writers state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent 821
the night in dancing, singing, and merrymaking,[1] and Valentijn also speaks of their sitting at new moon on the bank of a river and throwing balls of clay into the water.[2] It is by no means clear what was the exact meaning of this proceeding; one suggestion is that it was a rain-making rite, but there is no evidence to support this view. Kolb, again, says that the Cape Hottentots looked on the Moon as their visible God, which they called *Gounja* or "Great Chief". At new moon and at full moon they would dance, jump, and gesticulate all through the night in its honour, and looking towards it would sing: "Be welcome, give us plenty of honey, give grass to our cattle, that we may get plenty of milk."[3] And similarly Roos and Marais write of the Naman: "Their religion consists principally in worshipping and praising the new moon. For when it appears the men place themselves together in a circle and blow on a hollow pipe [534
or similar instrument, whereupon the women begin to clap their 535]
hands, and dance round the men, continually crying out that the last moon had protected them and their cattle well, and they hoped the same from this new moon. In addition the first Cabonas [//Habona or //Haboben] whom we met praised the moon especially for having brought into their land a people from whom they had received so much good."[4] The dance described here is the ordinary reed dance of the Naman, but the invocation of the new moon shows clearly that the occasion was more than a mere social festivity.

The facts noted above, sketchy as they are, seem to indicate beyond 821
doubt that the Hottentots revered the Moon. Nowadays the prayers 771
are no longer heard, and the worship has ceased, but the new moon
is always hailed in welcome, and at full moon "the old heathens 773
with the young people" still hold their dances to the music of the reed pipes, rommelpot, or the fiddle.[5] The Moon, as we have seen, also figures in the mythology of the people, where it is associated with the origin of death: it promises immortality to men, and when they are deceived by the hare, it is also the avenger, punishing the fateful messenger. Both it and the sun are said to have lived on earth before

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[1] Dapper, op. cit., 277; Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104; Thunberg, op. cit., ii, 41; Hahn, op. cit., 39–40 (quoting Plütschau and Vogel).

[2] *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indiën*, part v, 158 (quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38).

[3] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 50–1.

[4] "Rapport aan den Heere van Tulbagh," 56.

[5] Olpp, op. cit., 25.

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771 773 there were people,[1] but no other myths connected with it have been recorded similar to those found among the Cape Bushmen.

821 771 787 The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. "One would almost believe that a great calamity had befallen a kraal," writes Hahn, "such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertaking."[2] The same dread significance is attached to the eclipse of the sun. Like that of the moon, it is believed to herald much sickness and even death. Other celestial phenomena are also ill omens. The appearance of the Aurora australis or of a comet threatens war and death—"we are overpowered by //Gauna," say the people, "war is approaching, we are going to die"—while a shooting star indicates that sickness will spread among the stock, and the people on such occasions move to another locality, and implore the star to spare them.[3] The stars, as we have seen, are said to be the eyes or the souls of the dead; but there is no mention of prayers for food or rain to either them or the sun such as are found among the Cape Bushmen. It may be noted, however, that a religious dance is held at the first rising of the Pleiades after sunset, when prayers are offered to *Tsui //Goab* for rain.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

771 773 Apart from the invocation of the Moon, the religious cult of the Hottentots seems to have centred mainly in the worship of Heroes, derived partly from animistic beliefs, partly from a personification of the natural forces producing rain. Of the beliefs and observances connected with these beings we have much fuller information, and it is apparent that they played a more prominent part in the religious life of the people than did the Moon. Three names stand out in Hottentot ritual and mythology: *Tsui //Goab*, *Heitsi Eibib*, and *//Gaunab*. All three, it will be observed, are masculine in form, as is also the name for the Moon, *//Khab*.

Tsui //Goab is the great Hero of the Nama and other Hottentot tribes. The name is usually translated "sore (or wounded) knee", from *tsu* or *tsui*, sore, wounded, and *//goab* or *//khoab*, the knee. Its origin is told in the following myth: "*Tsui //Goab* was a great powerful chief of the Khoikhoi; in fact, he was the first Khoikhoib,

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., 387.
[2] Op. cit., 131; cf. ibid., 89.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 426–7, 428–9.

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from whom all the Khoikhoi tribes took their origin. But *Tsui //Goab* was not his original name. This *Tsui //Goab* went to war with another chief, *//Gaunab*, because the latter always killed great numbers of *Tsui //Goab*'s people. In the fight, however, *Tsui //Goab* was repeatedly overpowered by *//Gaunab*, but in every battle the former grew stronger; and at last he was so strong and big that he easily destroyed *//Gaunab* by giving him one blow behind the ear. While *//Gaunab* was expiring he gave his enemy a blow on the knee. Since that day the conqueror of *//Gaunab* received the name *Tsui //Goab*, 'sore knee' or 'wounded knee'. Henceforth he could not walk properly, because he was lame."[1]

This derivation is discredited by Hahn, who interprets the name as "the Red Dawn". His reasons are chiefly philological, elaborated under the influence of the mythological theories current in the middle of last century and associated mainly with the name of Max Müller. But he adduces three other considerations: that the Korana believe *Tsui //Goab* lives in the Red Heaven or Red Sky; that another mythological personage whom he equates with *Tsui //Goab*, *‡Eixa/kha-//nabiseb*, "The Man whose body has a brass-coloured backbone," is addressed as "Thou who paintest thyself with red ochre"; and that "when the day dawns the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face towards the East: O, Tsui//goa, All-Father."[2]

Still another interpretation of the name, given by Kroenlein in his Nama-German dictionary, is the "painfully-invoked one", from *tsu*, painful, difficult, and *//goa*, to pray earnestly. Commenting upon this, Schultze, who himself accepts the first derivation, remarks caustically: "I believe that on this point the missionary Kroenlein has given the philologist Kroenlein a blow from behind!"[3]

Tsui //Goab is said to have been a great chief, a notable warrior of great physical strength, and a powerful magician.[4] According to Nama belief, he first made the rocks or stones from which the ancestors of the Hottentots came,[5] while the Korana say that he made the first man and woman.[6] He could do wonderful things, which no other man could do, because he was very wise; he could tell what

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[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61. Other variants of the same myth are given by Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 258; Wuras, in Appleyard, *Kaffir Grammar*, 13, and in Hahn, op. cit., 61–2.

[2] Op. cit., 122–4.

[3] Kroenlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin*, 329 s.v. "*Tsu-//goab*"; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 447.

[4] Hahn, op. cit., 48, 50, 62 (quoting Moffat and Wuras, loc. cit.); Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 28.

[5] Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104.

[6] Hahn, op. cit., 62, 105. For a similar belief held by the Cape Hottentots, cf. Grevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 369.

771 would happen in future times; he died several times, and each time
773 he rose again. "And whenever he came back to us, there were great feastings and rejoicings. Milk was brought from every kraal, and fat cows and fat ewes were slaughtered. *Tsui //Goab* gave every man plenty of cattle and sheep, because he was very rich. He gives rain, he makes the clouds, he lives in the clouds, and he makes our cows and sheep fruitful."[1] Another of Hahn's informants, speaking of the origin of his tribe, said: "That very thing, the *//Habobe*, has been made by *Tsui //Goab* in this country, and *!Khub* [Lord, another name for *Tsui //Goab*] has made us, and has given us this country. He gives to us the rain, and he makes the grass grow."[2] He is ubiquitous, and the people take oaths by him, "thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil"; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they use his name in the form of an exclamation: "*Tsui-//Goatse* !"[3]

773 On certain occasions *Tsui //Goab* is worshipped openly as the
rain-giver. Hahn, as we have just seen, says that the Naman leave
796 their huts with the first rays of the dawn, and invoke him. This is not mentioned by any other writer; but there is further evidence of worship directed towards him. The missionary, George Schmidt, who worked among the Hessequa, one of the Cape Hottentot tribes, from 1737 to 1744, has left on record a short but very important description of one of their religious ceremonies. "At the return of the Pleiades these natives celebrate an anniversary; as soon as these stars appear above the eastern horizon mothers will lift their little ones in their arms, and running up to elevated spots, will show to them those friendly stars, and teach them to stretch their little hands towards them. The people of a kraal will assemble to dance and to sing according to the old custom of their ancestors. The chorus always sings: 'O Tiqua, our Father above our heads, give rain to us, that the fruits (bulbs, etc.), uientjes, may ripen, and that we may have plenty of food, send us a good year.'"[4] *Tiqua* is an early form of writing *Tsui //Goab*; and the prayer shows clearly that he is here regarded as the god of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

Tsui //Goab is also invoked by the Naman, at the great annual rain-making ceremony, *guri ǂab* ("yearly killing"), which is the most

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[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61.
[2] Ibid., 64.
[3] Vedder, "The Nama," 130; Hahn, op. cit., 62; Schultze, op. cit., 447–8.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 43; quoting *Basler Magazin*, 1831, p. 12.

important festival among them.[1] For this ceremony the whole tribe 773
gathers together at the headquarters of the chief. It is held, if possible, 796
on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.

Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. On the spot itself a shelter is made, chiefly for the comfort of the men, and fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.

When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui* ||*Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year. One form of prayer sung on such occasions has been recorded by Hahn[2] :—

Tsũi ||*goatse!*	Thou, O Tsui ||Goab!	773
Abo Itse,	Father of our Fathers,	796
Sida Itse!	Our Father!	
|*Nanuba* |*avire,*	Let stream the thunder cloud,	782
En xuna ûire,	Let our flocks live,	
Eda sida ûire;	Let us also live, please;	539
ǂ*Khabuta gum gorob*	I am so very weak	
||*Gãb xao,*	From thirst,	
!*As xao;*	From hunger;	
Eta xurina amre.	Let me eat field fruits.	
Sats gum xave sida itsao,	Art thou not our Father,	
Abo itsao,	Father of our Fathers	
Tsũi ||*goatse?*	Thou Tsui ||Goab?	
Eda sida gangantsire,	That we may praise thee,	

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[1] The following description is based mainly on the account given by Hoernlé: "A Hottentot Rain Ceremony," *Bantu Studies*, i, No. 2 (May, 1922), pp. 3–4; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 27–8, and "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 515–16.

[2] Op. cit., 58–9, quoted by Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 28.

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Eda sida //khava /khaitsire,	That we may bless thee,
Abo itse,	Thou Father of our Fathers,
Sida !khutse,	Thou, our Lord,
Tsũi //goatse !	Thou, Tsui //Goab !

"All through the day," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is not long before the rain comes. 'In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain.'"

"This rain ceremony," she continues, "seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolizing the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come."[1]

A less detailed account of what seems to be the same ceremony is given by Vedder.[2] "If the rain stayed away for a long time, the people tried to bring it about magically by the following process: A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

[782]

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions."

773 These ceremonies and the words of the prayers show clearly that
776 *Tsui //Goab* must be regarded as the rain god of the Hottentots. He is also called *abob*, father, and *!khub*, Lord, as the first prayer shows;
782 and Hahn further identifies him with */Nanub*, the thunder-cloud, and with *!Gurub*, the thunderer, one of the names of */Nanub*.
821 Graevenbroeck and Valentijn also quote both names for the same god, *Thikkwa* (*Tsui //Goab*) and *Khourrou* (*!Gurub*).[3] The cloud */Nanub* is often addressed in prayer, "O cloud, our Lord,

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[1] "Hottentot Rain Ceremony," 4.

[2] "The Nama," 131.

[3] Hahn, op. cit., 130; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 369; Valentijn, op. cit., 109, 158, quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38.

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let rain "[1]; while "if a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the 776
country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the 782
lightnings disperse the darkness", the people assemble for a */gei*, 821
a religious dance, and, while dancing, sing the following[2] :— [539]

!GURUB DI /GEIS	THE HYMN OF THE THUNDER
!Nanumatse!	Son of the Thundercloud !
/Geri-khei, !Gurutse!	Thou brave, loud-speaking !Guru !
‡Ouse gobare,	Talk softly, please,
/Havil t'am u-hā-tamaō;	For I have no guilt ;
/Ubatare	Let me alone ! (Forgive me !)
‡Outago xuige.	For I have become quite weak.
!Gurutse !	Thou, O !Guru !
/Nanus oatse !	Son of the Thundercloud !

This may be compared with a statement made by Valentijn, who 773
touched at the Cape in 1705. He speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" 776
Khourrou (i.e. */Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or
"God" *Thukwa* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui //Goab*), "who dwells on 821
high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us."[3] Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord [*!Khub*, i.e. *Tsui //Goab*] is speaking; he is scolding them."[4]

Another quotation throws further light upon the conception of 753
Tsui //Goab. Alexander states that the Hottentots of the Kuiseb
River in South-West Africa had to make an offering to *Tusib* before 776
they could drink water with safety.[5] Alexander calls the man of whom 782
he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die ! I asked him what had occasioned the disease, and he said that it was from having dug for water at a place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib River, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him, what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Naras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman[6] with white hair, and who can do

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[1] Hahn, op. cit., 129–30. [2] Ibid., 59–60. [3] Loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., 91–2. [5] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 125.
[6] "Redman," */awa-khoib*, is another name used for themselves by the Naman, in distinction to the negroes, whom they call *‡nu-khoin*, "black men," and the Europeans or "white men" */uri-khoin*.

753 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.'
—776 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at
the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman,
—782 give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do
776 not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu ǂoap is the
rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1]
821 But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke !huba ra !gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Nanub*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personifica-
776 tion of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South
773 Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising
that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who
796 depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with
751 impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on
784 critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

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[1] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 522.

[2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its 823
members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the 751
tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. In 784
the former case, we have noted in various instances, things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself. But, though cold water has these protective powers, it is also highly dangerous to any one of the people in the condition of */nau*, a condition preventing him from participating in the full life of the society. Thus, sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people, and many others, are in a precarious state and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people are once more reintroduced to the full life of the tribe, they are specially reintroduced to water, being splashed all over by someone well qualified to lend them strength, and so once more they take up their daily life in the tribe.[1]

All these usages are intelligible and form a harmonious whole 823
if we realize that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most 773
difficult for the Hottentots to provide, and that it is, therefore, one
of their most important social possessions. The conception of *Tsui* 821
//Goab, the attributes he possesses, the observances and prayers directed towards him, show that the same outstanding significance is attached to the rain and to the natural forces producing it, which constitute by far the most important source of water. As the giver of the rain, moreover, *Tsui //Goab* is also the source of the pasture necessary for the well-being of the cattle and the game, as well as of the edible roots and berries, and consequently he is intimately linked up with the subsistence of the people, prayers being addressed to him for food.

The figure of *Tsui //Goab* is still endowed in the consciousness 773
of the Nama with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity. The same cannot be said of another famous mythical hero, *Heitsi Eibib*, *Heigeib*, *Heiseb* or *Kabib*. The name is generally interpreted "prophet" or "foreteller", from *heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order, and *ēibe*, beforehand, previously. Hahn derives it, however,

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[1] Cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," *passim*; *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

773 from the roots *hei*, tree, and *ei*, face, likeness, appearance, arriving thus at the meaning "the One who has the appearance of a tree". In support of this he notes that another and shorter name of *Heitsi Eibib* is *Heigeib*, Great Tree, from *hei*, tree, and *gei*, big.[1]

Heitsi Eibib is said to have been a great and celebrated magician among the Hottentots in prehistoric times, who did miraculous things. The Naman all describe him as their great-grandfather, and as a powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the east, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. He conquered and annihilated all the enemies who killed his people; he was clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in the future. He was born, according to one tale, of a young girl who had chewed a kind of grass and swallowed the juice, thereby becoming pregnant. The boy was as remarkable as his birth. He committed incest with his mother; he fought and killed various evil monsters; he conquered great lions, and put enmity between the lion's seed and mankind. He could change himself into many different forms, and was able to go through
[825] mountains and rivers when pursued. He cursed the lion, the hare, and the vulture, and to his commands are ascribed the habits of these creatures, as well as certain human observances. He died in many places, was buried, and always came to life again; and another legend represents him as being reborn as a young bull from a cow impregnated by eating grass.[2]

773 His "graves" are found all over the country, in the Cape Colony
778 as well as in South-West Africa, generally in narrow mountain passes on both sides of the road. Natives passing these graves, which consist of great heaps of stones piled up high, throw pieces of their clothing, or skins, or dung of the zebra, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, as well as stones, on the heap.[3] This they do, says Hahn, to be successful on their way; and they generally, if hunting, mutter
[782] the following prayer:—

O Heitsi Eibib,
Thou, our Grandfather,
Let me be lucky,
Give me game,
Let me find honey and roots,
That I may bless thee again,
Art thou not our Great-grandfather?
Thou Heitsi Eibib!

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[1] Op. cit., 132–4.

[2] Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, 75–82; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1915, 253; Hahn, op. cit., 64–73; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama Sprache*, 171–7 (Nama texts); Vedder, "The Nama," 131–2.

[3] Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, i, 349; Alexander, op. cit., i, 167; Bleek, op. cit., 76; Kleinschmidt, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 69, 134.

Sometimes more substantial offerings of honey and honey beer are 773
left at his graves. The Nama say that when he returns in the evening 778
from his walks in the veld he is glad to see that they thus honour him. He still gives the people good advice, and tells them how to kill the lion's children and other wild animals, and he prevents danger from befalling them if they honour him.

Hahn identifies *Heitsi Eibib* with both *Tsui //Goab* and the Moon. 764
All three, he says, come from the east, and that is why the doors of
the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of 773
the dead are also placed towards the east, so that their faces may look 823
towards sunrise. Even those who possess wagons place them in such a position that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Naman, when asked why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tsui //Goab*, or our ancestor *Heitsi Eibib*, came from the east." Both are invoked as "Father" or "All-Father"; both are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.[1]

This identification cannot be accepted. In spite of the resem- 773
blances noted by Hahn, the differences are more numerous and far-reaching. *Heitsi Eibib* appears as the central figure in a cycle of myths; he has a family, and has dealings with various other people and animals. Moreover, like the Mantis in Cape Bushman folk-lore, he is full of tricks and his character is not altogether blameless. *Tsui //Goab*, on the other hand, figures only in the combat with *//Gaunab* which gave him his name. He is also looked upon with far more respect and reverence than is *Heitsi Eibib*. He has creative powers, which *Heitsi Eibib* has not. The latter seems to be in no way connected with the rain, whereas *Tsui //Goab* is essentially the rain god, and is worshipped as such. *Heitsi Eibib*, again, is prayed to only at his graves, and there is nothing at all to link up these graves with *Tsui //Goab*. The two, moreover, are always spoken of by the natives themselves as separate beings. It appears, therefore, that they must be regarded as distinct from each other.

It is difficult to determine exactly what graves are specially connected 773
with *Heitsi Eibib*. Alexander, as we have seen, distinguishes *Heitsi*
Eibib's graves, "large heaps of stone on which had been thrown a 778
few bushes," from "the common graves covered with a heap of

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[1] Op. cit., 134-5.

773 stones"; whereas Biden and Kling use the term "heidje eibib"
in regard to all graves, although speaking also of a specially large
778 "heidje eibib" near O'okiep. Hahn says that branches are thrown
only on the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, not on any others, which appears
also from Alexander's remarks. Vedder, again, "was interested to
know whether there were really human remains under these often
stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing
of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stones, as Heiseb
was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however,
found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed
empty." He, therefore, concludes that these heaps were originally
beacons set up by the Bushmen at those places where strangers used
to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, that is, where there were old
paths, and that later, when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country
for the new immigrants, these boundary marks appeared to the
Hottentots as graves, which were revered as the graves of their
own ancestors by piling stones on them.[1]

769 Whatever the origin of these heaps, it is at least certain that the
778 Hottentots regard them as the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, add stones,
branches, and other objects to them, and pray at them to *Heitsi*
773 *Eibib* for success in hunting, much cattle, and other benefits. We
have previously noted that ordinary graves are also added to in this
way, and that people will sometimes go to pray at the graves of the
parents. This suggests that *Heitsi Eibib* is in some way connected
with the ancestors. One is inclined, therefore, to look upon him
either as a traditional hero of the past, round whom a series of legends
have collected, or possibly as a mythological ancestor living much
the same sort of life as the Hottentots themselves did. He certainly
does not appear to be a personified nature deity of the same kind
as *Tsui ||Goab*. And it may be added here, that in translations of
the Bible and other religious works into the Hottentot languages,
the name *Tsui ||Goab* is by some writers used as a rendering for
"God", whereas *Heitsi Eibib* never is. This in itself indicates how
different were the native conceptions of these two figures.

773 In the mythology of the Hottentots *Tsui ||Goab*, as we have seen,
776 appears as a great tribal hero, many of whose people are killed by
the evil chief *||Gaunab*. *Tsui ||Goab* goes to war with *||Gaunab*,
and finally destroys him by giving him a blow behind the ear; but

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[1] Op. cit., 132; cf. *idem*, "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der . . . Buschmänner," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 11–12.

hough destroyed in this way *//Gaunab* comes alive again, and one 773
orm of the myth tells the story as though the fight were an annual 776
ne. The name *//Gaunab* is nowadays translated by " Devil ", and
wing to missionary influence has exactly this significance for the [177]
atives; but Hahn derives it from *//gau*, to destroy, annihilate, and
herefore interprets it as " the destroyer, the one who annihilates."[1]

It is difficult to arrive at a complete picture of what the Hottentots 776
riginally understood by *//Gaunab*, especially as the information
lating to him is rather scanty. Graevenbroeck says of the Cape
lottentots that they believed in a first forefather *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*,
nd a god of the underworld *Damoh*.[2] Valentijn, who had access
Graevenbroeck's manuscript, enlarges somewhat on the latter
eing. The Hottentots, he says, spoke of a " Spectre whom they
ared very much, Somsoma ", as well as of *Dangoh* or *Damoh*, " a
evil, a black chief, who does much harm to them; they avoided
eaking of him, as he often persecuted them, but in carefully
amining this, it is nothing but their somsomas and spectres."[3]
angoh or *Damoh*, Vedder suggests, " is evidently an attempt to
ell the word *//Gauab*."[4] The linguistic identification seems rather
r-fetched, but at least the attributes *Dangoh* has in Valentijn's
escription definitely connect him with *//Gaunab*.

Kolb uses the word *Gounia* for " God, or the Great Chief ", and
so mentions " another chief, somewhat lesser in power, called
ouquoa, from whom some of them had learned witchcraft; he
ver does good to the people, but always harm. They must, there-
re, fear him, show respect to him, and serve him. This they do by
ughtering in his honour sometimes a sheep, sometimes also a fat
, whenever they perceive that great misfortune is threatening
em."[5] It is evident, from what has already been said, that Kolb
s confused the two names, and that the attributes he ascribes to
ouquoa (*Tsui //Goab*) really belong to *Gounia* (*//Gaunab*). This
pears also from a curt statement by the missionary, George Schmidt,
out the Hessequa: " They have no religion or rites, and they
lieve only that there is a supreme Lord over all, whom they call
ui'qua. They believe also in a devil, to whom they give the name
una, but they do not care much about him."[6] Wikar, again,

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[1] Hahn, op. cit., 125; Hoernlé, " Social Value of Water," 519.
[2] " Uit den Ouden Tijd," 369.
[3] Loc. cit. [4] " The Nama," 130.
[5] Op. cit., 52–3; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 41–2.
[6] " Reise nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung," 275.

776 says that the Nama believe that "war and all evil come from the devil,
kouwnaap (*//Gaunab*); he is black, say the magicians, who assert
that they sometimes see him. Because he is evil, sacrifices and offerings
must be made to him".[1]

It will be noticed that according to both Kolb and Wikar *//Gaunab*
is the source of all evil; he is appeased by sacrificial offerings, and
he stands in close contact with the magicians. These statements
are supported by later writers. Hahn says that the Topnaars of
Walvis Bay, one of the Nama tribes, offer prayers to *//Gaunab*, so
as not to provoke his anger, although they call him an evildoer, who
[753] even kills them when they are out hunting.[2] All sicknesses are
expected to come from *//Gaunab*, or from his servants, the witch-
craft practitioners.[3] One informant said that the Rainbow was made
776 by *//Gaunab*: it is a fire which he has kindled. *//Gaunab* deceives
821 the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. Such
people are spoken of as *//Gauna- //o-khoin*, *//Gauna*-dying people.
The eclipse of the moon, comets, and the Aurora australis, all evil
omens, are also connected with *//Gaunab*, who through them threatens
war and death.[4] Among the Korana mothers used to tell their
children to beware of *//Gaunab*, as he is a great evildoer, who can
kill them.[5]

//Gaunab is also another name, as we have seen, for *Sarés*, the
whirlwind, which threatens sickness and death. He is further
776 intimately connected with the */hei /nun*, the malicious ghosts of the
775 dead; in fact, *//gaunagu* in the plural is simply another name for
/hei /nun, and even the term *//gauab* in the singular may be used for
791 a ghost. It may also be noted that magicians among the Naman are
considered in some way connected with the */hei /nun*, and therefore
have an immunity from their evil effects which others have not.
These facts all suggest that *//Gaunab* must be identified with the
/hei /nun, the ghosts or spectres of the dead. This is also implied
in Valentijn's statement noted above, and it will be remembered that
one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants insisted very earnestly that the
/hei /nun were simply *//Gaunab*. From this it would appear that
//Gaunab, when looked upon as an individual being, as he certainly
is at times, may be regarded as a personification of the ghosts of the
dead, i.e. of certain animistic beliefs. On the evidence available
there seems no other adequate interpretation.

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[1] "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104.

[2] Op. cit., 42, 86.

[3] Ibid., 87; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 520.

[4] Hahn, op. cit., 74, 89.

[5] Ibid., 62.

But *//Gaunab* also figures in the myth as the opponent of *Tsui* 772
//Goab; and there it is further said, by the Naman, that "*Tsui //Goab*
lives in a beautiful heaven, and *//Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven, quite 773
separated from the heaven of *Tsui //Goab*", while the Korana told 776
Wuras that *Tsui //Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *//Gaunab* in the Black Sky.[1] Two of the old writers, Valentijn and Wikar, also speak of *//Gaunab* as a "black chief", while Graevenbroeck calls *Damoh* the "god of the underworld". The interpretation of this myth is difficult, as we have no further information at all about the two "heavens" referred to. Hahn reads into it a metaphor illustrating the change of day and night, and identifies *Tsui //Goab* with the Red Dawn and *//Gaunab* with the Black Night.[2] An alternative explanation, if we remember that *Tsui //Goab* is not only the rain-giver, i.e. the fertilizer, but also the creator, while *//Gaunab* is the cause of sickness and death, may be that the myth symbolizes the conflict between life and death. But this is mere speculation, as we need to know far more about the beliefs and practices relating to these two beings, and, it should be added, about the beliefs relating on the fate of the dead, before interpretations of their significance can be advanced with some prospect of accuracy.

MAGIC AND DIVINATION

In common with most primitive peoples the Hottentots have 791
amongst them certain individuals who are specialists in the art of magic. Of these magicians, */gai aogu*, we have extremely little information. Nothing at all appears to be known about the method in which a person becomes a */gai aob*, or of the training he has to
undergo. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants said that a child born with [845]
a caul might become a clever */gai aob*, if given the caul to eat whilst still young; others, however, said that such a child became a *gebo aob*, a seer.[3] It is not even definitely stated if these magicians are of either sex, or men only, but the fact that the name by which they are known is always written with the masculine suffix seems to imply the latter.

The name */gai aob* itself, according to Schultze,[4] is derived from 755
/gaib, the magic medicine used by these men in their work. This medicine is carried about in a small box cut from the horn of some animal. It is made up of vegetable ingredients taken from the roots of a large diversity of plants, and of the flesh and bones of various

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[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61–2.

[2] Ibid., 126.

[3] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 520.

[4] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 226.

755 small animals, such as a species of chameleon, the shrew mouse, bats, and a small bird of the family *Sylvidae*. These ingredients are dried and cut up or ground to powder, and are then mixed with the raw goat's fat which fills the medicine horn and which is thought to absorb the effective principles of the other substances. The goat's fat has curative powers only, and is rubbed into cuts made in the patient's body, but the other ingredients, secretly mixed in tobacco or smeared on the mouthpiece of a pipe, can be used for affecting a person's emotions, as in love magic, or for injuring his health.

791 The principal function of the *!gai aob* is to cure people who have been bewitched.[1] He is considered as in some way connected with
755 the */hei /nun*—we are nowhere told how—and therefore has an immunity which ordinary people have not from the sickness caused by the */hei /nun* or by their human agents, the witchcraft practitioners. This immunity he can impart to others, and so cure them of the disease, by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which is contained in the dirt and perspiration of his body. He scrapes the dirt off as he requires it, and it forms an essential ingredient in all his medicines and cures. The treatment he follows when called in to a patient is nowhere fully described.[2] Generally, it seems, he first extracts from the patient's body, by massaging and sucking, the foreign bodies held to have been secreted there and so to be causing the illness. Then, to complete the cure, he makes cuts in the patient's body, into which he rubs some of the fat from his medicine horn mixed with dirt and perspiration scraped from his own body. Sometimes he gives the patient decoctions made from his medicines, and invariably the patient has to provide him with one or more slaughter animals, certain internal portions of which are necessary ingredients in the medicines, and the meat of which he keeps for himself.

791 As long as the *!gai aob* uses his powers in this way for good,
754 he is much respected, and is an important person in the community.
But he can also use it for evil, and by resorting to witchcraft make
823 people ill or kill them, instead of curing them. If it is suspected that he himself is causing illness, the community has a sure way of protecting itself from him.[3] Cold water is absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touches it on any account. Should it be decided that he has caused sickness or death among the people,

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[1] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 29; Wikar, op. cit., 122–3; Schultze, loc. cit.

[2] The most serviceable account is given by Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama," *Deuts. KolZtg.*, iii (1886), 629–30.

[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 520–1; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

the chief will therefore order him to be deprived of all his power. 791
He is taken to the nearest pool of water and ducked completely. 754
His power, residing in his body dirt, oozes away from him into the
water, as it were, and he is an ordinary man once more ! Mrs. Hoernlé 823
states that she knows of two instances in which this course was
adopted.

In the same way, the medicines of the */gai aob* can also be rendered 754
innocuous by immersion in cold water. Mrs. Hoernlé records the
case of a girl who had been bewitched and who nearly died as a result. 823
She was finally cured by the medicine which is all powerful against all
witchcraft methods. "This is the *//a !naip*, the kidney of a species [825]
of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating that it is too
much even for any */gei* medicine. When this was given to the girl,
she vomited and brought up the little */gei* sticks and leaves which had
been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and
leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into
cold water, so that their power was gone for ever." [1] Here we have
another instance of the protective value of water, to which attention
has already been drawn.

It is difficult to determine what other regular functions the */gai aob* 791
has apart from the curing, or causing, of disease. Hahn speaks as if
the */gai aob* formerly officiated at the boys' puberty ceremony, at the
reception of warriors returning home after battle, and at the
slaughtering of a cow or sheep "as an offering to the deceased or to
the Supreme Being" [2]; but he gives no further details and there is
no other statement definitely connecting the */gai aob* with these rites.

Elsewhere Hahn mentions "a class of sorcerers" chiefly occupied 789
in making rain, "who in former times must have been very numerous,
but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there 791
on the kraals of the heathen tribes." [3] "Having a great practical
knowledge of the meteorology of their country," he says, "they
pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they
sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon
will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into
the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus
(*‡ga//goeb*), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about,
in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally
take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are,
according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications

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[1] "Social Value of Water," 521.

Op. cit., 23, 24.

[3] Ibid., 83.

789 of certain rain." He does not state who these "sorcerers" are, nor does he suggest any connection between them and the rain-making
791 ceremonies previously described, so that although there seem to have been among the Hottentots special rain magicians, we cannot identify them with certainty or link them up with the */gai aogu*, the known workers in magic.

787 From Schultze's brief account of Hottentot magic, it appears that the */gai aogu* are also diviners.[1] A thread is inserted into the
791 fat in the medicine horn. The projecting end is set alight and held against the wind, and the direction in which the smoke blows tells the distressed inquirer where he must seek his strayed cattle or lost companion. If he still wishes to overtake his comrade on the way, a knot is tied in the thread and the projecting end set alight. Then, just as the flame is checked or extinguished on the knot, so will his comrade halt on the march until he comes up.

787 Other methods of divination are also employed by the Hottentots, but there is nothing to connect them certainly with the */gai aogu*. One of these we have already met with in connection with the conduct of judicial trials, where as a last resort the diviner is called in with his beaded strips of leather to ascertain who is the real culprit. The method there described is found also among the OvaHerero and the Bergdama, and may have been taken over from one of these peoples, although this cannot be definitely asserted. Another method of divination, described to Mrs. Hoernlé, was done for a Hottentot, but by a Bergdama. The chief Christian Goliath of the Berseba Hottentots, Mrs. Hoernlé's informant, said that he had lost a mug and called in this Bergdama man to find out who had taken it. The man had three iron beads which he threw three times upon the ground. Each time one of the beads rolled in the direction of a certain hut, and when this hut was searched the mug was found there! Here, it will be noticed, an expert from another people was called in; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to believe that this may have been the case in most of the instances of divination by means of bone or bead throwing reported of the Hottentots. All her Nama informants denied that they themselves practised divination in this way.[2]

Kolb describes on hearsay a form of divination which he says was practised by the Cape Hottentots in cases of illness where medical treatment seemed to be of no benefit. A sheep was carefully flayed alive in such a way as to avoid excessive bleeding; if it then moved

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Communicated by letter, 25-9-1924.

away from the spot, the people gathered hope that the patient would 787
recover, but if it remained lying where it was, they abandoned both hope and any further treatment.[1]

In addition to these more or less standardized methods of divination, the Hottentots also place great faith in omens. Of these there are a great variety. Dreams, the flight and cry of birds, the direction of the wind, celestial phenomena, the beat of the pulse, nervous twitchings, forebodings—all these, according to Olpp, can have significance.[2] Some kinds of omen we have already described in
connection with hunting, war, and the moon. Vedder records one 787
or two others.[3] Many symptoms on the body of a dying person, 763
or on the bodies of relatives, and, above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, are regarded as precursors of death. Again, if the corpse of a living acquaintance or a relative appears to a person in a dream, "he has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these ceremonies secretly, only after a year may he relate his dream, as by then the time for its realization will have expired, failing which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person die within that year and be treated accordingly."

The appearance of the mantis, again, is an omen of extreme good 787
fortune. This little insect does not appear to enjoy the same reverence 825
among the Hottentots as it does among the Bushmen, but the Naman believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it.[4] The Cape Hottentots, according to Graevenbroeck and Kolb, regarded it as a favourable omen of the highest significance.[5] If it went so far as to alight on man or woman, says the latter, the fattest ox belonging to the kraal was killed. The lucky person received the entrails and the fat, and wore the caul twisted about his neck till it rotted off, or until some other person was honoured in the same way by the mantis. The flesh of the ox was cooked, and the men or the women feasted upon it, according to the sex of the person on whom the mantis had alighted. The mantis, of course, was never killed or injured, for to do this would turn the omen into one of disaster and destruction. The insect, however, does not appear to have been prayed to (although in South Africa it is still popularly spoken of as the "Hottentot's god") nor does it figure at all in the mythology of the people.

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[1] Op. cit., 155.

[2] *Angra Pequena*, 30.

[3] "The Nama," 135–6.

[4] Op. cit., 40.

[5] Grevenbroeck, op. cit., 267–8; Kolb, op. cit., 13–4.

791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gelo aogu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution [887] was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gelo aogu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, 751 is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little [437] confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed 648 by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

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[1] Op. cit., 24.
[2] Op. cit., 567.
[3] Op. cit., 113.
[4] Op. cit., 134.

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they 754
were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof! 648

APPENDIX

COMPARATIVE NOTE ON BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOT RELIGION

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The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions H
shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those 771
of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences.
Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have 171
prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most 821
of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of
the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies.
This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu
peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon. B

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized H
family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice 771
in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, 171
although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots
dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples 769
the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above 775
all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular [192]
are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen
and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, B
although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and H
by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, [191]
the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and
consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them.
Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the
soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live
with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern
Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go,
without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural
being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the B
Hottentots. H

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the 771
word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely 171
connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a 775
difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gauab* primarily as an evil being, 761
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[1] Op. cit., 122.

771 who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise
171 believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special
775 significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence.
761 He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars,
821 the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab.* Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps
B not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become
H specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

771 The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is
171 that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term
775 *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the
B fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living
H society.

771 *//Gaunab* in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*,
171 the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and
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[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-
821 Religion," 299.

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated 771
phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to 171
be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the 776
rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this
he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, 821
Erob or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis,
by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls
the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of
good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and
danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain,
food, recovery from illness, etc. B

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also H
dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. 771
This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor 171
has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, 776
however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the
Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of 821
//Gamab, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, "water," 177
and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and
of thunder and fountains". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of
whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death,
abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where
he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama
trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment
of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is
minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series
of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of
Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and
occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western
Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama,
one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a
"sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely B
attributed to Bergdama influence. H

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' 771
puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui* 171
//Goab nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected 881
with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction,
and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern
Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

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[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

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771 boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the
171 North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is
881 simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our
present knowledge.

B Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be
H a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves",
771 where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological
773 character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the
778 Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this
Heitsi Eibib primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him
171 among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

B The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance
H is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The
Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious
771 belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has
certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities
171 not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

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They share with their Northern relatives and with the Hottentots the cult of the moon and several beliefs concerning the dead and natural phenomena, and the conception of the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen can possibly be linked up with that of *Huwe* among the Northern tribes. But the beliefs centring in the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen have no parallel further north, nor, on the other hand, do they seem to have anything exactly corresponding to either *Huwe* or *//Gaua.* Their mythology, again, is far more elaborate than that of the Hottentots, which in turn is more developed than that of the Northern Bushmen. Underlying these superficial, but unquestionably significant, differences, there is of course a great deal of fundamental similarity, as we have had occasion to note in our discussion of Bushman religion. As far as present indications go, it seems evident that while we can safely speak of one religious system common to all the Bushmen and Hottentots, we must also distinguish between the Southern Bushmen on the one hand and the Northern Bushmen and Hottentots on the other, and that a further distinction must be made in certain respects between the two latter. A good deal of further research in the field is still necessary, however, before we can finally disentangle borrowed elements from specifically local developments. The fact still remains that no really satisfactory account is available of the religion of any single Bushman tribe or of the Hottentots.

CHAPTER XIV

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

DECORATIVE AND PLASTIC ART

532 JUDGED by the standard of the Bushmen, the Hottentots are distinctly poor in artistic productions. Painting and engraving on rock, one of the outstanding features in the culture of the former, does not 531 appear ever to have been practised by the latter. Their decorative art at the present time is confined mainly to scratching or incising simple rows of dots or lines of crude chevron, zigzag or fishbone pattern on the outer surface of their metal armbands and rings. Occasionally also simple triangular designs are burned round the mouth of their wooden vessels, or scratched on the stems of their serpentine pipes; while the clay pots they formerly made are sometimes found decorated round the neck with rows of dots or short, broad lines, apparently produced by incising.[1] No other form of decorative art is known to occur.

532 857 The rudiments of a plastic art may be noticed among the young boys, who often model toys out of clay, which they burn in the fire to obtain shades of colour as well as hardness. These toys consist in figures of human beings, cattle, game and other animals, sometimes also in group compositions such as a team of oxen pulling a wagon. Schultze describes and figures some of them, which are skilfully modelled and by no means devoid of artistic appeal, in some cases even showing a lively sense of caricature, as in representations of Europeans.[2] But the talent here shown is not carried over into later life, and no modelling or carving of any description analogous to this is done by adults.

MUSIC AND DANCING

533 535 If the Hottentots are deficient in the plastic arts, their musical talent at least is highly developed. The joy in imitative representation, in the fancy-free expression of stored-up impressions, lives in both young and old. Their delight and talent in mimicry is shown in

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[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 249–51; Schönland, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery," *passim* and pl. ii.

[2] Op. cit., 310–12; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 335.

pantomime, their musical sense in the use of musical instruments and 533
in song, and their finer artistic feeling in the dance. Only in a few 535
exceptional cases do we find these different art forms practised in isolation; as a rule, just like the emotions underlying them, they are intimately combined in the same performance.

The musical instruments of the Hottentots[1] include some of those 534
found among the Bushmen, such as the */goura*, the */gubo*, the *ramgyib*
(" ramakie ") and the " rommelpot ". Of these the */goura* is specially 171
important from the ethnological point of view. As previously mentioned, it is a form of musical bow having the peculiarity of being sounded by means of a piece of quill connecting one end of the chord with the end of the bow-stave. Though various forms of the musical bow, including the */gubo*, are found widely spread over Africa, the */goura* is a specialized type somewhat sharply separated from the others. Its occurrence is confined mainly to the Hottentots and the Southern Bushmen, so that it constitutes a common culture trait of some significance. It is now also found among some of the Southern Bantu, but has almost certainly been taken over by them from either the Bushmen or the Hottentots.

Schultze describes in addition the ordinary musical bow, *kxab*, 534
which he noted among the Naman.[2] The stave is made from a thin piece of acacia wood, and the chord from the back-sinew of the goat, or, better still, from sheep-gut. The women are the performers. They sit on the ground, with the upper end of the bow resting on the left shoulder, while the lower end, propped up against a skin-covered bowl serving as a sounding-board, is held there by means of the foot, inserted between the stave and the chord. The performer picks at the chord with a small stick held in the right hand, while with the left-hand she holds the bow like the head of a violin. Usually several of the women sitting round beat in time on the chord with their sticks.

From the musical point of view the chief characteristic of the 533
theme represented in the musical pantomime performed with this instrument lies in rhythm. In hunting scenes this expresses the different types of movement of horses and game. The tracking of the hartebeest, the first galloping pursuit, the flight of the wounded animal and its overthrow, all this is indicated in the time beaten with

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[1] Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 122–3; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, 229; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 326–7; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 95–6; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 228; Schultze, op. cit., 374.

[2] Op. cit., 374–5.

533 the stick. The onspurring of the pursuing horse, the fatal thrust, and the death rattle of the dying animal are punctuated with gestures and inarticulate sounds; the successive monotones beaten on the chord to varying speeds only serve as accompaniment. Similarly the progress of a wagon is indicated, with such incidents as the in-spanning of the oxen and the falling out of a lame animal, while the habits of wild animals are imitated with special delight.

In all these performances the music itself is relatively unimportant,
even though the bow is throughout being sounded with the stick.
It is only in the reed dance songs that the notes are first arranged
534 into melodies. The reed pipes, *ǂati*, are among the oldest known
musical instruments of the Hottentots.[1] They are usually cut, as
their name indicates, from reed; but where, as in barren tracts, no reed can be got, they are made from the hollow bark of acacia roots. They range in length from about six inches to a foot. Their barrels are like those of European flutes, but the holes on both sides meet one another and are larger than in the flute. One end of the pipe is closed with a grass cork, which is slid up and down by means of a thin bit of stick to vary the pitch of the instrument. These pipes are always used to accompany dances and songs.

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Every large kraal has its bandmaster, *ei-!gun-aob*, who teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes. "Boys who perform well," says Hahn, "are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called *!kho-|kha, to touch the body*, which means, 'to praise a person in a song.'"[2] A full Hottentot orchestra has at least nine performers, each with a pipe or set of pipes tuned to a different note from those of the others. The music of each performer consists in a series of rhythmical blasts all on one note, which harmonize with those of others in the same rhythm. These notes provide the time for the dancers and singers, who lead the melody.[3]

533 Many of the songs accompanied by reed music are without words; the theme is indicated simply by actions, and the melody "trolled" aloud, i.e. sung without articulate words.[4] Others have a fixed verbal text. Hahn distinguishes two kinds of the latter, sacred and profane. "The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations and songs of praise in honour of Tsu//goab, Heitsieibib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs, and the performance with dancing is called */geib*, while the general profane songs are called *//nai-tsanati*, and to perform

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[1] The fullest descriptions are given by Schultze, op. cit., 375–7; von François, op. cit., 228.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 29.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 376, 377.
[4] Ibid., 377.

them with a dance on reed-pipes, or better, bark-pipes, is *ǂaba xaîre.* 533
The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it." [1]

The reed dances are usually held in the evening and often last 535
through the whole night, especially when there is moonlight. The occasions of the */gein*, religious dances, are naturally determined 821
by the character of the dance. Those in which the Moon is invoked are held at New Moon and at Full Moon; Hahn mentions another, at which *Tsui //Goab* is prayed to for rain, which is held when the Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon; still another, in which */Gurub*, the Thunder, is invoked, even takes place, as we have seen, when a heavy thunderstorm is approaching.[2] The "profane" 535
dances are held on any festive occasion, especially when anybody is emerging from a */nau* seclusion, as, e.g., in the girls' puberty ceremony. If any illustrious stranger visits a kraal, he also is often [574]
welcomed with a reed-dance, an honour accorded to several of the [609]
early European travellers.[3] But in all probability any bright evening, whether specially significant or not, provides the occasion for such an entertainment.

In these dances [4] the men normally form a ring, all facing inwards, 533
each with the upper part of his body bent forward, and his lips on 535
the pipe. Then, to the accompaniment of their music, they hop up and down on both legs simultaneously, the knees slightly bent and one foot in front of the other, and move about jerkily and slowly in this way. The women, "trolling" or singing with loud voices and clapping their hands in front of the face to the rhythm of the music, dance round the men in a larger outer ring. They move forward in small, often very small, steps, with buttocks prominently thrust out, and waggling their hips. There is no fixed number of dancers. The dance has such an irresistible attraction for the Hottentots that any group of dancers rapidly grows in size. Mothers with babies on their backs, women returning to the kraal with firewood or other burdens, attach themselves to the ring; even old matrons whose sight is failing, says von François, become as if electrified when they hear the dance music, and dance like energetic flappers!

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[1] Op. cit., 27-8.
[2] Ibid., 58-60, *passim.*
[3] Ibid., 28; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 127.
[4] Schinz, op. cit., 31-2; von François, op. cit., 228; Schultze, op. cit., 377.

535 Many of the profane dances have special themes. Some of them are purely pantomimic. One such dance, described by Schultze,[1] may serve to illustrate the wealth of imitative action with which they are enacted. The theme is that of a hyena slinking round a sheep kraal at night and being discovered. The pantomimic representation of this theme, with its reed music, its song and its dance, is extremely delightful. The men line up in a semicircle, as do also the women opposite them. The circle formed in this way, with its two opposing entrances where the line of men approaches that of the women, represents a sheep kraal, and the women the sheep. Amid the singing and the notes of the reed music of all those standing in the circle, one of the men leaves the line, and in a crouching posture, with sharply-bent knees, slinks into the interior of the "kraal" and along the line of women, with all the gestures of a bloodthirsty hyena. After a while three other men from the line make as if riding for the same opening through which the hyena has entered. In bearing and gesture they mimic the tying-up of their horses, then discover the tracks of the hyena and follow them, until suddenly they notice the animal. They hasten back to their horses and take up the pursuit. The hyena meanwhile has made for the open, but is over-
533 taken outside the "kraal" and killed. During the whole of this
535 performance the women uninterruptedly sing at the "hyena" the words: *ǂHī-ra-se, kxoĩn xũn gye, ǂgo-be-se, kxoĩn xũn gye*, "Hyena, this (the sheep in the kraal) is the property of men!"

Other dances and their songs depict scenes of hunting or battle. Wikar describes one mimicking a rhinoceros hunt,[2] Hahn another in which a hero dies bravely in battle and is left a prey to the vultures, until his friends, having defeated the enemy, return and collect his bones into a grave, at the same time singing a very doleful burial song.[3] Another dance of this type, seen often by von François in Windhoek, is based on the historical incident of the "murder" of Jan Jonker by Hendrik Witbooi. The men group themselves in two parties, one with white hatbands, the other with red. The latter, representing Jonker's people, dance first, as if believing themselves safe, and the women dance round them. Then to the same melody and time the Witboois dance up out of the darkness towards the camp of the Jonkers. Suddenly they are noticed by the latter, the women spring aside and begin, standing still and clapping their

[1] Op. cit., 380–1; others are described on pp. 377–80
[2] Op. cit., 127–8.
[3] Op. cit., 228–9.

hands, to take up the melody, while the men forming into line range 533
themselves against the Witboois and in a crouching posture continue
playing on their reed pipes. The Witboois also form into line, and 535
send forward a messenger, who advances and then returns, always playing on his pipe and hopping up and down. Next one of the red-hatted men, representing Jan Jonker, dances up to the Witboois, and, still blowing on his pipe, shakes several of them by the hand. Meanwhile a Witbooi in the same manner circles round the group of women, representing the cattle, and after inspecting them all returns to his party. Now the murder of Jan Jonker is enacted, so too his men dancing up to his aid are massacred, and finally the Witboois dance away with the plundered cattle and women. The whole dance, with its wealth of action and skilful performance, is a most interesting illustration of the imitative talent of the Hottentots and their fertile imagination. In this respect, at least, they equal the Bushmen, even although they have not the grand masquerade dances performed by the latter.

Dancing itself without music and song is seldom practised, but 533
singing without musical accompaniment is common.[1] Most of the songs are based on actual incidents affording a suitable theme; others are love songs; and Hahn mentions still another type, known as *gares*, which Hottentot mothers or nurses are in the habit of extemporizing in praise of a child while washing or anointing it.[2] The verbal text of these songs is generally very simple in character, and not always rigidly fixed. When singing in chorus, individuals will often add motives of their own to the text, which after shorter or longer intervals they always repeat anew with slight variations. But they are able in doing so to weave their motive harmoniously into the melody of the other singers. Nowadays the songs are often [177]
church hymns or popular Dutch folk ditties, and the reed pipes are often replaced by the mouth organ or concertina, but the musical sense of the people is as lively as ever, and they find their principal recreation in its exercise.

KNOWLEDGE OF DISEASE AND DOCTORING

The Hottentots on the whole do not enjoy robust health. The 147
slender body, often weakened by inadequate and irregular food, uncleanliness, excessive indulgence in alcohol and tobacco, and privations of all sorts, has little power of resistance. The early writers 650

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[1] Schulze, op. cit., 381–3.

[2] Op. cit., 107, 28–9.

The early writers
164 speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common
177 diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent
of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept
the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally
wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened
the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak
in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy
attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Naman died from
smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the
white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis,
ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during
the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other
inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza
pandemic of 1918.[1]

753 All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots
757 into two groups. First there is */aisena*, "sickness," which they regard
as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to
[826] their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering
about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ
to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very
highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name
as death, *ǂop*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs
and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable
that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although
among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always
[759] some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the
remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by
someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective
medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

757 The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving
784 this latter treatment are *//autas*, paralysis, *//keis*, "fever," *ǂurub*,
varicose veins, and *!nomis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any
783 one of these or the other diseases called *ǂop* becomes */nau*, and the
treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described
in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

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[1] Laidler, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 431 ff., iii, 28, 36 ff.; Nolte, "Krankheiten . . . der Nama," 630; Schinz, op. cit., 99; von François, op. cit., 215–16; Schultze, op. cit., 227; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 8; 983–6 *passim*.

[2] "Conception of !nau among the Hottentots," 77–9.

[3] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 213.

a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating 757
person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected.
With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, 784
and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he 783
scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which
he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture
he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must
observe the customary *!nau* restrictions: he must remain in the hut,
he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold
water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating
person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new
clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification
meal is held, and the fire in the hut cleared away and renewed. Finally
the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the
usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people
once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping 753
of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there 755
is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that
the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first 759
step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the *!gai aob*) 791
who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference
to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that
certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves
had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen,
corroborate the calling in of the *!gai aob* in case of illness, and it would
seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the
sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described,
although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of
the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to
have been bewitched, the *!gai aob* also undertakes to cure him. His
treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign
bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that
employed in the diseases known as *ǂop*, since, as we have seen, the dirt
scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he
gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not
undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called 759
in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

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[1] Op. cit., 433, 434.

759 the nature of the complaint. But there is nowhere any full statement as to who all the persons are who may respectively act in this way. The only mention of professional healers, apart from the "herbalists" referred to by Laidler, is Kolb's statement that in every Cape Hottentot kraal there was a man chosen by the old men of the kraal to act as physician and surgeon, because of his knowledge of herbs and surgical and medical treatment. His office was not hereditary. On his death the old men selected another man with similar qualifications; and if no one suitable could be found in their own kraal, they fetched him in from another. In the meantime such of the old women as had a knowledge of herbs and could make the surgical cuts undertook the treatment of the sick.[1] How far this statement can be regarded as accurate in all its details is difficult to say. The whole social aspect of medicine among the Hottentots has been somewhat ignored, and it is not always possible to reconcile the different statements as to the practitioners employed. Nor, except in the case of the *ǂop* diseases, can we ascertain clearly how far the practitioners profess or are believed to cure all diseases, or whether they specialize on particular cases. And, apart from the account given by Mrs. Hoernlé, there is no full description of the ceremonies attaching to the cure or attempted cures.

757 On the actual methods of treatment adopted we have more adequate
information, thanks mainly to the detailed descriptions given by
Schultze and Laidler, as well as the older writers such as Graevenbroeck
and Kolb.[2] Massage, as we have just seen, is widely used for diffuse
pains attributed to the wanderings of the internal organs, the object
being to restore each organ to its proper place. We have also
[842 previously noted its use in connection with pregnancy, and, according
841] to Laidler, unfruitful women or those behind their time with menstruation
are likewise massaged on the abdomen, in the former case with
a downward, in the latter with a rolling movement.

752 The knowledge of surgery is limited.[3] Dislocations are reduced
by rubbing the joint briskly with fat and then moving the limb up
and down vigorously. A broken limb is first wrapped in skin, care
being taken to allow free circulation of the blood; then narrow splints
of wood are tied round it to form a sort of sheath, and left until the
752 bone is firm again. Amputation of the finger joint, a common practice
304 in the past, was cleverly performed with the aid of a ligature. Kolb

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[1] Op. cit., 44–5.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; 233–6; Laidler, op. cit., 424–36; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 19 ff.; Kolb, op. cit., 148–55; cf. also Nolte, op. cit., 630–1.

[3] Kolb, op. cit., 149–53; Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; Laidler, op. cit., 436–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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states that the head of the joint was tied up with sinew, and cut through 752
below, the sticky juice of certain leaves and other herbs then being 304
applied to the raw surface.

For relatively localized pains the universal remedy is bleeding, 757
either by venesection with bandaging or by cupping. In the former case, as described by Kolb, a thong is tied round the limb and the vein cut open below it. When enough blood has been drawn off, the incision is closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Cupping, apart from its use in the *!nau* ceremonies and diseases, is specially employed for stiffness and pains in the limbs, in order to hinder their swelling, for colics and pains in the stomach, and also, according to Laidler, for the relief of madness and epilepsy. The cupping horn is a carefully-prepared tip of calf or goat horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is first applied dry, i.e. over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified, the horn pressed tightly over the bleeding cut, and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established, he bites the resin and so closes the aperture in it. The horn is then left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn.

Cures and antidotes for the bites and stings of the multitudinous 752
snakes, spiders, and scorpions found in the country naturally play
a large part in Hottentot medicine.[1] An "infallible" antidote for 278
snake bite is the dried body of the lizard *Scelates capense Gthr*. Small deep cuts are made slightly above and below the bite, and cupped for about half an hour. Then a tiny fragment of the lizard's body is pressed into each cut and rubbed in with wood ashes. The bite itself is only washed with water. Snake poison itself may also be used as an antidote, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. Sometimes the "doctor" makes incisions over the bite, then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. Vegetable poultices are sometimes applied, or the crushed head of the snake may be used in the same way in case of snake bite, while similarly powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting, the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and nippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste. The patient at the same time is given

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., 224–5; Laidler, op. cit., 438–40.

752 a solution of tobacco juice diluted in water as an emetic. Tobacco
juice taken from the stem of the pipe may also be rubbed into the bite
278 or into a cut made near it, and Schultze seems to think that this really
may be an effective antidote. Another favourite remedy is white
[825] potassium chlorate, in the form of the inspissated urine and fæces
of the dassie purified by the action of the atmosphere, which is rubbed
into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings.

752 The immunization against snake bite reported of the Bushmen is
also practised by the Hottentots.[1] One of Laidler's informants,
the "poison doctor" for the northern parts of Little Namaqualand,
learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been
similarly taught. He stated that when he was a boy—and to begin
with the boy must have a good constitution—his father made two small
cuts above the elbow of each arm, into which he rubbed a small portion
of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later
his father prepared a lump of venom containing several varieties,
and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and
shivery". This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a
piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until it reached the
size of a pin's head, and this dose the informant was still taking every
day. The only venom not used in this process was that of the puff-adder,
[759] which his father told him rotted the flesh. Men immunized in
this way are known as *|ao!ga aon*, snake-bite men, and they treat others
bitten by snakes. Apart from the regular antidotes and cures already
mentioned, they often use the perspiration from their body and
clothing, either rubbing it into small cuts made near the bite or mixing
it with water which the patient is required to drink. This form of
treatment is, of course, reminiscent of that employed in the *ǂop* diseases.

278 For internal and certain other troubles the Hottentots use a great
789 variety of herbs and roots. When any of the roots considered really
powerful medicines are dug from the ground, states Mrs. Hoernlé,[2]
something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not
act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person a present
must also be given. When taking the root, one addresses it with
the words: "Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me,
[823] harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water"—another
instance, it will be noted, of the protective power of water. Elsewhere
Mrs. Hoernlé mentions, by way of example, that the root used in

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[1] Laidler, op. cit., 438–9; Schultze, loc. cit.

[2] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 321.

treating lupus, and consequently known as *!nomi heip*, "lupus stick," 278 must be treated with great deference. "When a person comes to 789 the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same lest all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not wholly disappear."[1]

Laidler has described at some length the herbal lore of the half- 757 breed Naman of Little Namaqualand.[2] From the details he gives it appears that the principal ailments treated with herbs and roots 278 are internal pains and fevers, classed together, he says, as "fires", and distinguished only by locality, certain women's troubles, flatulence as an entity, diarrhœa, and, among the accidental injuries, burns. In anæmias and weaknesses red substances are used, such as *Pelargonium anceps*, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are employed, several of his informants stated, because they are [822] red, and the blood is red, and, therefore, they strengthen the blood; and, of course, when grown on red ground their value as drugs is increased enormously! All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. *Sutherlandia frutescens*, another red plant, was formerly used in decoction for washing wounds, and given as drink for fevers; nowadays it is used for consumption, chicken-pox, etc. *Eriospermum latifolium*, a red tuber, rasped up raw, is considered a good poultice on bruises and cuts, and here again the colour appears to have been the chief attraction. Other decoctions for coughs and colds and fevers are made from the leaves of various Sages (*Salvia sp.*), as well as from the leaves of one species of wild olive, which are administered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid. Other wild olives are used as sweating draughts, as is also *Grassula lycopodioides*.

Another species of wild olive is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and the leaves are also used as a plaster. Pains in the stomach are also treated with decoctions of *Eriocephalus umbellatatus*, or of the powdered and boiled root of *Royena pallens*; pains in the back are treated with *Boscia fœtida*; and shooting pains with *Passerina filiformis* or *Berkheyra sp.* For toothache the people chew the alkaline

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[1] "Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 79.

[2] Op. cit., 434–5, 440–6; cf. for the Naman of S.W.A., Schultze, op. cit., 223 ff., Nolte, op. cit., 630–1.

757 leaves of *Mesembrianthemum tortuosum*, also taken in the same way 278 for pains in the stomach, or the leaves of *Galenia africana*; headaches are treated with a decoction of dagga seeds (*Cannabis sativa*), also used for bronchitis; and for pains in the eyes an ointment made from raw fat and pulverized dagga is applied.

[845] *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, is used for delayed labour or retained afterbirth; *Euphorbia restituta* is given for tedious labour; and for troubles after parturition the leaves of *Rhus sp.* are boiled and taken in decoction. But a more common remedy for women's ailments is *!au |arub*, the condensed urine and fæces of the dassie (commonly known among the Dutch farmers and the Dutch-speaking Hottentots as "dassiepis"). Boiled and strained the liquid is given in dry confinements, during parturition [847] generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. The same substance, finally purified by the action of the atmosphere, is given internally [752] in decoction and infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness in the back and pains in the stomach.

Diarrhœa is treated with a decoction made from the powdered and boiled roots and stem of *Royena pallens*; and *Sarcocaulon Burmanse*, pounded fine, is used as an astringent for the same complaint. Purgatives, Laidler remarks, have a strange fascination for the natives, and are widely used for pains in the stomach or "fevers" "to work them out". A tangible removal, it is argued, must always be productive of good, for the Hottentots, according to Laidler, "firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something." One of his informants, a professional herbalist, said that the same medicine prepared in different ways may have different actions. Thus if *Royena pallens* is cut in an upward direction it will act as an emetic, if cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative! Other purgatives are *Royena hirsuta* and *Chiroma baccijeca*, two mouthfuls of which taken in decoction, are an efficient dose and have a rapid effect. The latter plant is also used in decoction for boils, as are also *Cynanchum capense Thun.* and a species of liana. The latter is also burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms.

Plasters and poultices are in common use, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether of goat dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs,

is a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The skin drawn off a 757
living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe 278
pain. Of vegetable substances the root of *Sarcocaulon Burmanse*, ground fine, is used as a poultice which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster; the stem of *Cotyledon Walchii* is pounded after spine and bark have been removed, and applied to abscesses; and *Berkheyra sp.*, powdered, is used as a plaster for burns and boils. Another favourite, and indeed the first, application to burns is nasal mucus; and the cast skin of a snake, burned to powder, is also used for the same injury. Goat dung as a poultice on a sore stomach is widely used; the underlying motive seems to be that since the goat eats a large variety of plants, many of which must have medicinal properties, these properties will be to some extent retained in its dung. For the ame reason the stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. The porcupine eats so many "bush things and strong things", said one of Laidler's informants, hat its stomach contents must be very good medicine! Schultze notes also that among the Naman a patient suffering from chicken-pox s given several times daily a decoction made up of a handful of goat dung cooked in about half a litre of diluted milk; while powdered hyena dung is given to children for convulsions.

STAR LORE AND CALENDAR

The nature lore of the Hottentots, revealed in their foods and 813
nedicines, their industries, pastoralism and hunting, is based more or ess directly on material needs and intimately bound up with them. Apart from the knowledge empirically derived in this way from the ares of everyday life, there is little trace of organized conceptions of the world of nature. The only other provinces, according to Schultze, in which the rudiments of scientific synthesis may be seen re, first, biology, of direct import to the hunter and herdsman, nd, second, the division of time, whose periods in their change of eason and far-reaching influence on the living world likewise force he attention of the herdsman. The former of these Schultze does not liscuss at all, but of the latter and its astronomical foundations he gives valuable detailed description.[1]

From early childhood the Hottentot is accustomed to find his 823
vay about in the open, on the pasture fields. As a child he relies or the means of doing so upon adjacent objects, on groups of bushes,

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[1] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 364-73.

823 trees, and rock formations. Later when he goes with his family on longer marches in search of pasture, he is forced owing to the barrenness of the land to seek his way from one waterhole to another. His wanderings consequently consist in treks, each having as its daily goal a spot relatively near by and fixed upon according to local conditions. As a result the Hottentot needs no other points of orientation in the sky apart from the sun, and his knowledge of the stars is therefore very limited.

821 The sun, *soras*, also gives the Hottentot points of control for distinguishing positions of the horizon. The East is named *sorasta*
823 *//hai /kxab*, "the side on which the sun rises," the West *sorasta !gu /kxab*, "the side on which the sun sets"; while for North and South there is a common term, *soresaw /nab*, since when one faces in either of these directions the sun shines on (*/na*, in) the cheeks (*sab*). The names */kxabagab* and */abas* for the south and north winds respectively are sometimes also used for the abstract points of the horizon, but this Schultze regards as a later transference. The sun itself, how it rises and sets, the wind blowing from here or there, the place to which he formerly wandered—these are the elements of the Hottentot's geographical notions, and they suffice for understanding.[1]

821 The moon and its phases are more appropriately discussed in connection with the calendar, in which it plays an extremely important part. Of the stars,[2] */gamirosi*, the Hottentots know most accurately the two planets Venus and Mercury, whose closeness to the sun and regularly-alternating positions in the morning and evening sky make them readily observable. Venus, *//khanus*, is also known as "the Forerunner" of the sun, *ai/guns*, or as *aagura //hab*, "the star at whose rising men run away" (i.e. from illicit sexual intercourse). Mercury is the Dawn Star, *//goa /gamiros*, or the star that comes when the udders of the cows are filled again; as an evening star he is not observed. Venus as an evening star is recognized to be the same celestial body as the morning star, and is then called the "Evening Fugitive", */ui /kxoeb*, since it does not remain long in the sky. Jupiter is also known, but is sometimes identified with Venus; when, however, he is seen "in the middle of the sky" he is called the "Middle Star", *//aegu /gamirob*.

The six stars of the belt and sword of Orion are grouped together as the "Zebras", */goregu*; δ, ε, ζ, are three fugitive zebras against the middle one of which the hunter ι shoots his arrows θ and c. The leiades, on account of their thick cluster of stars, are called by the ame */küseti* or */kxüseti*, derived from the verb */kü* to assemble, or are therwise known as */ao /gamiroti*, "Hoar-frost stars," since at the time hen they become visible the nights may already be so cold that oar-frost is found in the morning. 821

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[1] Ibid., 365.

[2] Ibid., 366–9.

Of these stars Hahn gives the following myth, which he names The Orion Myth, or the Curse of the Women".[1] "The /Khunuseti leiades) said to their husband, 'Go thou and shoot those three ebras for us; but if thou dost not shoot, thou darest not come home.' nd the husband went out with only one arrow, and he shot with his ow. But he did not hit, and he sat there because his arrow had missed e Zebras. On the other side stood the Lion and watched the Zebras, d the man could not go and pick up his arrow to shoot again. nd because his wives had cursed him he could not return; and there e sat in the cold night shivering and suffering from thirst and hunger. nd the */Khunuseti* said to the other men: 'Ye men, do you think at you can compare yourselves to us, and be our equals? There now, e defy our own husband to come home because he has not killed ame.'" 821 773

In explanation Hahn states[2] that Aldebaran, or α Tauri, is the usband of the myth, and the */Khunuseti*, or Pleiades, are his wives. is bow is π π Orionis; his sandals, *//haron*, are ε and δ of the yades; his kaross is θ and γ of the Hyades; δ, ε, ζ, Orionis are the ebras, */goregu*, and Leo is the Lion. The arrow */ab* is marked by *d*, *c*, Orionis, of which again it is called *//naus*, the arrowhead, and is the opposite end, where */ams*, the feather is fixed.

The gleam of the Milky Way and of the Magellanic Clouds reminds e Hottentots of the weak glow of the embers of a hearth fire. The ormer is therefore known as *saob*, Ember, the masculine singular nding reflecting the large slender shape of the constellation, and the atter as *saara*, Embers (fem. dual), the ending reflecting the clumpy orm and the smallness of the constellation. The Magellanic Clouds e also called *xam /khurakam*, "the two lion testicles." Of single ed stars Schultze heard only Sirius named, as the "Side Star", am */gamirob*. Two other names of stars are recorded by Hahn: ara, "the two eyes," for α and β Centauri, and *xami di mara*, the es of the lion, for ρ 1 and 2 Scorpionis.[3] It will be remembered at he also speaks of the stars as the eyes of the deceased. 821

The calendar of the Hottentots[4] is based on the change of the 805

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[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 74. [2] Ibid., 108-9. [3] Ibid., 109 [4] Schultze, op. cit., 369-73.

805 seasons, the phases of the moon, and the daily positions of the sun. They are well acquainted with the concrete phenomenon of the year, */garib*, as a single period of seasonal variation, but they do not reckon in years of this sense. The year, that is, is empirically given by them, but not limited in the abstract. Above all, it is not a calendrical and numerical quantity. They keep in mind the age of their cattle, which they reckon by calving and lambing periods. They have, however, no interest in their own ages. When they wish to date back somewhat further, well-known events, such as the outbreak of rinderpest, hostilities with neighbouring tribes or with the whites, immigrations, etc., furnish them with satisfactory points of control, from which, coupling them in particular instances with the birth of their children or the stature of these at the time, they can arrive at a date.

805 The major divisions of the year are the seasons, *gamagu*, of which there are four. In determining these the Hottentots seem to keep 821 in mind the vegetation rather than the climate. They distinguish, first, early spring, (*/kxa//aëb*, blossoming-time, or */abab*, spring), which has come when with increasing warmth, independently of the rainfall, trees and bushes break into leaf, and in good years winter or early spring rains have revived the grass. It begins as early as August and ends in October. The following season, *//kxãnab* (in the Bergdama dialect *soreb*, " sun-time ") embraces the first half of the hot period, in which, when the year is good, the so-called lesser rains fall. If these are failing, or, as is usually the case, are scanty, the land is for the most part desolate, without grass or herbage. This time of drought is sometimes called by the same name as drought itself, */kxareb*. It prevails from October to December inclusive, and thus corresponds to the astronomical spring of the Southern hemisphere. The season upon the productiveness of which the welfare of the Hottentots most depends, *//haob*, may be called the pasture season; it includes the period of the greater rains and the time immediately after this, when the fodder has not yet lost its freshness. It comprises, loosely speaking, the period January to April, thus corresponding to summer and the beginning of autumn. Winter, *soob*, or the cold season, lasts from May to August, and thus embraces two-thirds of the autumn and the first half of winter.

Further divisions of the year are based on observations of the moon. The month, known by the same name as the moon itself, *//khãb*, begins when the crescent of the moon appears in the western sky. The phases of the moon symbolise to the Hottentot his own growth and decay.

The just-emerging, hardly yet visible crescent is called */kxum//kxāb*, */kxum* meaning "unripe" in the same sense as it is used to denote a premature fruit. The slender, shining crescent, in which as it were the moon "revives", is called by a name with that significance, */gāgo //kxāb*. The first two quarters have two names common to both of them, *gai-//kxāigaira //kxāb*, "the moon which becomes great or old (*gai*)," and *gaaira //kxāb*, "the moon which becomes wise (*gāai*)." In the last quarter only the slender crescent is distinguished, as "the dying moon", *//ōra //kxāb*. 805 821

With the gradual adoption of the European calendar, the Hottentot series of months has fallen into decay. The list of months, their order and the other statements given by Schultze come from an old Nama woman, but he is not quite sure that the ideas of the Europeans had not already influenced the number of months and their succession. He refers to another list in Kroenlein's dictionary, which has only nine names. Kroenlein's February corresponds to his January; but it is only in the position of the name for July, which Schultze claims for October, that the two lists differ to any extent. The twelve months of the Hottentots and the approximately-corresponding months of the European calendar are as follows :— 805 [177]

I. (January) *ǂkhoaseo //khāb*, "the moon which follows upon the *ǂkoo* (*Salsola*) bush," an important pasture bush having its principal flowering season in spring.
II. (February) *gamo /aib*, not translated.
III. (March) *ǂkaoi tsūb*, "when it begins to be cold."
IV. (April) *ǂgoro /aīsab*, explained by several old Hottentots as the month of increasing cold, when one sits so near the fire that "the legs blister".
V. (May) *ǂnu //khâb*, the "black month," comes in the time of drought, when the black branches of the stripped bushes give the landscape this character.
VI. (June) *ǂkhoi //khâb*, not translated.
VII. (July) *ǂkuu //khâb*, "the month of the Pleiades," which become visible in the latter half of June.
VIII. (August) *ǂkharib*, not translated.
IX. (September) *ǂkao ǂgoab*, the month "when the leaves are curled up" by the cold.
X. (October) *gai ǂkhoasi*, not translated.
XI. (November) *ǂgoe ǂkhoasi*, not translated.
XII. (December) *ǂho ǂgoab*, named from the fact that when, after the first productive rains upon the old and withered grass, the fresh young grass shoots up, the meadows, *ǂgoab*, appear to be dappled, *ǂho*.

The smallest unit of time to the Hottentots is the day, *tsēs*, and the night, *tsūsab*. The length of a journey is always spoken of in terms of days and nights. Within the day they distinguish not lengths of time but only parts of the day. They can, however, express with great certainty and clearness both points and duration of time, by referring to the sun. Of the hours of the day, only noon, *tsē gāb*, is brought into prominence, and similarly the only point of 805 821

805 night distinguished is midnight, *tsũxub /gãb*, "the back of the night."
821 On the other hand the limits of day and night, are elaborately marked out. They distinguish morning and evening twilight, *//goa /aroam* and */uitsũxubab* respectively; morning brightness, i.e. the time of clear day shortly after sunrise, which is named */kxai //goagab*, because about dawn (*//goab*) it is usually most perceptibly cold (*/kxai*), and evening brightness, */aba /kobob*, the "red twilight". "Little children's twilight," *‡kxam-/goa-/kobob*, is in some places the name given to the first noticeable diminution of light after sunset, in accordance with the belief that at this hour most children (*/goan*) are born. Afternoon, */uiab*, and morning, *//goagab*, are only approximate. Finally, a distinction is made between evening, */uib*, and late evening, */oes*, which extends till long after sunset.

805 The division of time into weeks was first learned by the Hottentots from the Europeans. As calendar for marking the days of the week
177 they use a thin flat piece of wood, about 10 cm. long and 2 cm. wide, through which seven holes are burned. To the one end is fastened a leather string, whose lower end is inserted down the row into one of the holes, each of which marks a special day of the week. The upper end of the string is used by the women for fastening the calendar to their necklaces, whereas the men prefer to carry the calendar in their hatbands. This primitive calendar is called *bekgye hais*, "week wood," the first word being taken from the Dutch *week*.

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PART IV

CHAPTER XV

THE KHOISAN LANGUAGES

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THE Bushmen, as we have previously seen, are divided into a number of separate tribes, each speaking a language or dialect of its own. These languages are all so clearly related that they must be regarded as belonging to the same language family. Owing to certain variations in phonetics, grammatical structure and vocabulary, they have been classified by Miss Bleek into three main groups, to which she applies the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively, in accordance with the relative geographical distribution of the tribes speaking them.[1] The Hottentot languages are on the whole strongly akin to those of the Bushmen, but at the same time differ from them all except Naron, in certain features showing an affinity with the Hamitic languages of North and North-East Africa. They have, therefore, been generally looked upon as essentially Hamitic languages, which have become greatly modified by the incorporation of Bushman elements, especially in phonetics and vocabulary.[2] It has recently been demonstrated, however, that fundamentally, they have far more in common with the Bushman than with the Hamitic languages.[3] They must accordingly be included with the former in the same language family, of which they constitute a fourth distinct group.

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Of the Bushman languages the only one at all well documented is */xam*, the language of the Cape Bushmen, which may be taken

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[1] "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof* (1927) 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, 1–6.

[2] This view, already advocated in 1880 by Lepsius, following upon Dr. Bleek's indications, has been expressed most forcibly in recent times by Meinhof, who in his *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, selects Nama as a type language for illustrative purposes; cf. also his paper on "The Language of the Hottentots", in *Addresses delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and S. African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii, 119–29. For criticisms of his standpoint, cf. Drexel, "Gliederung der afrikanischen Sprachen," *Anthropos*, xx (1925), 82 ff., and Planert, "Die Schnalzsprachen," *Bibliotheca Africana*, ii (1926), 298 ff.

[3] D. F. Bleek, op. cit.; Schapera, "The Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 833 ff.; *idem*, *Comparative Grammar of the Khoisan Languages*, MS.; cf. also Planert, "Die Sprache der Hottentotten und Buschmänner," *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, viii (1905), Abt. iii, 104–76.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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197 as representative of the Southern Group.[1] Grammatical sketches are also available of *!Khũ* (*Kung*) and *||K'au ||en* (*Auen*), representing the Northern Group, and of *Hie* (the language of the Hiechware or "Tati Masarwa") and *Naron*, representing the Central Group[2]; but of the other Bushman languages, and this includes the great majority of those spoken in the Kalahari Desert at the present time,
H only short vacabularies at best have so far been published. Of the
197 four Hottentot languages, again, the only one fully available for comparison is *Nama*, of which we possess several good grammatical studies and dictionaries.[3]

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197 The following sketch in no way claims to provide a complete or even adequate comparative study of the Khoisan languages. It is intended merely to illustrate briefly the principal features characteristic of them, to show how far these features are shared by them all, and what differences exist. A note must be added on the method adopted in the discussion of grammar. This will be dealt with under two heads: (*a*) Grammatical Processes or Technique, i.e. the various mechanisms employed for the expression of meanings, and (*b*) Syntax, i.e. the ways in which the various grammatical categories are expressed. In the former case we consider the different formal processes of the languages and note what their functions are; in the latter we consider the different grammatical functions and categories and note the formal processes employed to express them. The two parts are therefore complementary, and between them should give a serviceable picture of the general grammatical structure.

B
PHONETICS[4]

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194 Except in the case of *!Khũ* and *Nama* [5] no detailed scientific studies have been made of the phonetic systems of the Khoisan languages.

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[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1911 (texts); D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Grammar," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xix (1928–9), 81–98; Meriggi, "Versuch einer Grammatik des /xam-Buschmännischen," ibid., 117–53, 188–205.

[2] Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kũ-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37 ff., esp. 56–112; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 1928 (Grammatical Sketches: Naron, 51–60; Auen, 60–4); cf. also Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891 (Naron grammar and vocabulary, 540–52).

[3] The most useful sources are: Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1909 (grammar and texts; bibliography); Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 1907 (texts 387–545); Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, vol. ii, 1923 (texts in the Bergdama dialect, 62–131); Kroenlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin*, 1889 (best dictionary).

[4] The orthography employed in the following pages and throughout the book is that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in its Memorandum I: *Practical Orthography of African Languages*, except in the case of the "clicks", for which the long-established conventional symbols are used.

[5] Doke, "The Phonetics of the Language of the ʗhũ Bushmen," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 129–65; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1–44.

Certain general features of importance shared by them all are readily observable, however. The vowels in many cases have a more or less obscure sound, i.e. they are slurred in pronunciation and their qualities are indefinite, so that several varieties may be heard of what is essentially the same vowel sound. Most vowels occur either long or short, and this length is at times a determining factor between words otherwise alike. Almost all the vowels, further, may be nasalized, and the presence or absence of nasalization is a factor in distinguishing words of different meanings otherwise phonetically identical. Diphthongs, finally, are very numerous.

The consonants are subdivided into emitted consonants and reversed or implosive consonants. In the former class, "in the production of which the whole movement of the speech organs emits or drives the air outwards," velar and alveolar explosives, fricatives, and affricates predominate, which, in conjunction with the "clicks", give the languages a harsh staccato character. The affricate combinations are almost all unvoiced and ejective, i.e. accompanied by simultaneous glottal stop. Nasals are also very often heard in speech. On the negative side may be noted the absence of the labio-dentals *f* and *v* and the semi-vowel *l*, except occasionally in words incorporated from European languages.

The reversed or implosive consonants, "in the production of which the whole or a portion of the movement of the speech organs reverses or draws the air inwards," are the famous and much-discussed "clicks". They are produced by rarefying the air between some outer closure or point of tongue articulation and an inner closure formed either at the velum or the glottis, and then releasing the outer closure so that the air is sucked in sharply. The inner closure is subsequently released for the following vowel. The position of the outer closure varies with the different kinds of click. Four different positional types of click are used in all the Khoisan languages: dental, customarily represented by the symbol / ; alveolar, ǂ ; palato-alveolar (sometimes called cerebral), ! ; and lateral, //. Each of these may be pronounced unvoiced, voiced, or nasal, and in various combinations with other consonants. In the Southern Bushman Group there is further a bilabial unvoiced velaric click ("kiss click"), ., not met with elsewhere, while *!Khũ* also has a fifth type of click, the retroflex.

The grouping of sounds and the character of the syllable follow the same principles throughout. Single vowels, diphthongs, nasal

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consonants, or nasal clicks alone often form complete syllables and whole words. Generally, however, syllables are made up of either (*a*) a consonant or consonant combination with following vowel or diphthong, or (*b*) a consonant or consonant combination, a vowel or diphthong, and a terminal consonant, which is invariably a nasal. Very many syllables commence with a click, and the quick succession of these clicks in speech is an outstanding feature in all the languages.

The variation of the musical pitch of the syllable is another most important feature of the Khoisan languages. Many words, phonetically alike, but bearing different meanings, are differentiated tonetically, the tone distinction being their only distinguishing feature in speech. Five significant tone levels have been discovered—high level, mid level, low level, falling, and rising. What part, if any, tone inflexion plays in syntax, in showing the relation of one idea to another, either expressed or unexpressed, is as yet quite uncertain. In this respect, as in many others, a good deal of work still remains to be done in the phonetic investigation of these languages.

Grammatical Processes

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Grammatical categories and syntactic relationships are expressed in a variety of ways, some of which are common to all the languages, while others are found in only a few of them. The main grammatical processes employed in all the Khoisan languages may be classified as follows: (*a*) the modification of the form of the radical element by (1) the use of a complex apparatus of suffixes, (2) the reduplication of the radical element, and (3) composition, the uniting into a single word of two or more different radical elements; (*b*) the extensive use of grammatical words or "auxiliary particles"; and (*c*) word order, the combination in a definite sequence of two or more denotative concepts to provide a new denotative concept.

(*a*) The radical elements of Khoisan words are to a very large extent, if not altogether, monosyllabic, and any additional elements can usually be shown to have a functional significance. Prefixes are altogether lacking, and infixes very few; the principal mechanism for modifying the form of the radical element so as to express a new denotative concept lies in the employment of suffixes.

(1) The apparatus of suffixes is very complex, and they are used for many different purposes. In some cases, although it is clear that the second syllable of a word is a suffixed element, it is difficult to determine the function of this suffix. As an illustration we may take

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the suffix *-kən*, *-gən* or *ŋ* found in the Southern Bushman languages (the different forms are due to phonetic sound changes). This suffix is separable from, i.e. is not always part of, the radical element, but can never occur by itself as an entity: when it does occur, it always forms part of a word. With substantives it is used to form the emphatic nominative. It is also used, however, with verbs, but in such cases it is by no means clear what function it fulfils. Similarly we find words in all the languages which invariably occur with the suffixed endings *-ra*, *-ri*, *-ro*, *-ru*, and so on, but here again no definite significance can as a rule be discovered for these suffixes.

Certain suffixes must now be regarded as *passive*, i.e. they occur only in certain words, never in any others, even although no special meaning can be ascribed to them. In */Xam*, e.g. there are very many words always found with what is clearly the suffixed ending *-ru*, as in *//kuru*, stone knife, */xuru*, crow, *thuru*, to pluck; but the suffix here does not seem to have any determinate significance, nor is it actively employed to modify other radical elements.

Opposed to these we have the *active* suffixes, i.e. suffixes which can be added freely to any radical element, and which have a definite significance. In */Xam*, e.g. the suffix *-ko* has an alternative function: */aiti*, woman, */aitiko*, another woman; *tuu*, mouth, *tuuko*, another mouth. In *!Khũ* the suffix *-ma* is used to form the diminutive, e.g. *!kaŋ*, tree, *!kaŋma*, little tree. In *Hie*, *-re* is used to form the plural, e.g. *kxam*, lion, *kxamre*, lions. In *Nama* the endings *-b*, *-s*, and *i* are used to indicate the sexual gender of the substantive, e.g. *khoib*, man, *khois*, woman, *khoii*, human being. These selected illustrations will serve to indicate briefly how the suffixes are employed.

An interesting feature is the fact that suffixes which are passive in one language may be active in another. Thus, while *-ru* is passive in */Xam*, in *Nama* it may be added to verbal roots to indicate returning motion, as in *//a*, to go, *//aru*, to go back, to return.

Active suffixes are employed in all the languages with both substantives and verbs, as well as with other parts of speech. In substantives they are used to modify the meaning of the radical element so as to express such concepts as plurality, diminution, agency, sex (in *Nama* and *Naron* only), and negation: while in verbs they are employed to denote duration, mood, reflexion, reciprocation, etc. It is only in exceptional cases (as in */Xam* and *Hie*) that they are used for forming tenses.

This extensive use of suffixes is one of the most characteristic

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features in the grammatical mechanisms of the Khoisan languages, and the number of different suffixes as well as of the variety of uses to which they are put is exceedingly great.

(2) Reduplication of the radical element of a word is also of frequent occurrence. As an active grammatical process it is most marked in the Southern Bushman Group, especially in */Xam*, where it is the principal mechanism for forming the plural of substantives, and is also used with verbs to indicate causality or to give them a transitive meaning. In the Northern and Central Bushman languages and in *Nama* its chief function is to give the verb a causative significance; it is hardly ever used as a means of forming the plural. In all the languages, however, many words also occur in a permanently reduplicated form, where no apparent significance can be attached to the reduplication, i.e. it has become passive.

(3) Composition—the uniting into a single word of two or more radical elements—is another frequent mechanism. Its most usual form of occurrence is verb + verb, the second verbal root modifying the meaning of the first in some way, generally so as to indicate some sort of direction. Thus in */Xam* the two roots */kau*, to cut, and */hiŋ*, to go out, can be combined to form the new word */kau/hi(ŋ)*, to cut out, while in Nama we find similarly *!guŋ*, to stride, and *bee*, to move away, combined into *!guŋbee*, to go away; *uri*, to spring, and *ǂga*, to go home, combined into *uriǂga*, to leap into; and so on.

(*b*) Another characteristic feature of the Khoisan languages lies in the extensive use of grammatical words or auxiliary particles as a grammatical mechanism. These particles are most generally used to modify the significance of verbal roots, and two classes may be distinguished, according to their mode of occurrence and function.

(1) The verbal root is as a rule unaltered, save when such concepts as duration, mood, reciprocation are to be expressed. In such cases, as already indicated, suffixes are added to the radical element. Tense, however, is most frequently indicated by particles preceding the verbal root. These particles can never be used alone; they always occur before a verbal root, and their function always is to indicate tense. Thus in *Auen* the root of the verb remains unchanged throughout, and when used alone without any qualifying particles denotes the present or indefinite time. Other tenses are formed by the use of auxiliary particles preceding the verbal root, e.g. *ko*, *ku* (past tense), *ka* (future), *re*, *ore* (continuous action), etc. Similarly in */Xam* we have *haa* (past tense), */ne* (in narrative), *se*, *ka* (future), while in

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Nama there are *ta* (present time), *go* (recent time), *ni* (future), *gje* (perfect), etc.

(2) The second class consists of what may be termed *postpositions*, i.e. they invariably follow the word whose meaning they qualify. Their main function is to indicate direction. Thus in *!Khũ* the particle *daŋ*, when it follows a verb, means "under"; *!hare*, between; *!a*, in front of; while in *Naron* we have *!oo*, among, inside, *k'e*, on, upon, etc.

The number of these particles is extremely great, and their functions manifold. As a mechanism they are extensively used, and much of the difficulty in translating the Khoisan languages lies in the very abundance of them. It should be noted that they differ from prefixes or suffixes in that they do not immediately precede or follow the radical element whose meaning they qualify, but may be separated from it by the intervention of other words.

(*c*) Word order as a mechanism is more marked in some of the languages than in others. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups, and to some extent in *Hie*, word order is of great importance in determining meaning, as there is here no formal distinction between e.g. substantives and verbs, or between cases. In *Naron* and *Nama*, on the other hand, where such distinctions do occur, the order of words is not so significant.

There are two features perhaps calling for special mention in this connection. These are (1) the distinction between junction and nexus, and (2) the expression of the genitive or possessive relationship. The significance of word order in the first instance is best seen in *!Khũ*, where, in junction, the attribute precedes the substantive, e.g. *gai gaoxa*, the good chief, while in nexus the order of words is reversed: *gaoxa gai*, the chief is good. The other languages usually add auxiliary particles to indicate nexus, but we may compare, in *Hie*, *||koo hĩi*, the large tree, with *hĩi e kwa ||koo*, the tree is large.

In the genitive relationship the rule in all the languages is that the word denoting the possessor precedes the word denoting the object possessed. Generally a connecting particle is interpolated between the two words. In the Northern Bushman Group, however, there are no connecting particles, the relationship being indicated purely by apposition; hence, in *!Khũ*, we have *gaoxa tʃu*, the chief's hut, but *tʃu gaoxa* would be "the hut's chief". In *|Xam* also the connecting particle is omitted before certain kinds of substantive, so that we get simply *toi |ku*, ostrich's feather; cf. Nama, *||gũb |ons*, father's name. Here the importance of word order in determining meaning is clearly shown.

Syntax

Parts of Speech. There is no formal distinction between parts of speech in any of the Bushman languages save *Naron*. It is generally impossible to determine merely from the form of the word what part of speech it is, although it may be noted that clicks most often occur in substantives and verbs, and that pronouns, auxiliaries, and words in perpetual use rarely have them. It is chiefly from the position of a word in a sequence that we are able to distinguish its nature. Often the nature of the suffix, if there is one, enables us to some extent to determine whether a word is a substantive or a verb. Thus, in *!Khũ, igaŋma*, little tree, is recognizable as a substantive, because it has the diminutive suffix *-ma* used only with substantives; on the other hand, *s'aagwe*, to hear one another, is recognizable as a verb, because of the reciprocal verbal suffix *-gwe*. These distinctions, however, are due to secondary factors, and it is evident that from the form of the actual radical element no such distinctions of parts of speech can be made.

In *Naron* and the Hottentot languages there is the same lack of formal distinction between parts of speech. In these languages, however, substantives are nearly always recognizable by the fact that they have the sex-endings added to them. All substantives must have one or other of these endings, according to their gender, so that their nature can readily be recognized. In other parts of speech, however, it is not possible to distinguish between words save by their position in the sentence or by the presence of formal elements having a grammatical function peculiar to certain parts of speech.

Gender. Distinction of sex is formally recognized and expressed only in the Hottentot languages and in Naron, where there is a regular classification of all substantives into three grammatical sex-genders: masculine, feminine, and common. The gender is shown by the form of the suffix. In *Naron* the suffixes employed are *-ba* for the masc. sing. (shortened to *-b* in proper names), and *-sa* or *-se* (shortened to *-s* in proper names) for the fem. sing. There is no special suffix for the com. sing. Thus *kwe*, human being; *kweba*, man; *kwesa*, woman. In *Nama* the suffixes are *-b* for the masc. sing.; *-s* for the fem. sing.; and *-i* for the com. sing. Hence *khoii*, human-being; *khoib*, man; *khois*, woman. These suffixes in both languages change

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for the dual and plural. The forms they then assume will be noted under "Number".

In all the other Bushman languages there is no sex-gender of this kind. To distinguish sex, when necessary, the word for "man" or "woman" is used to qualify the primary substantive. In the Southern and Northern Bushman languages these qualifying words follow the substantive. Thus in */Xam*, *toi*, ostrich → *toi gwai*, cock ostrich; *toi /aiti*, hen ostrich; in *!Khũ*, *!kui*, ostrich → *!kui //gɔ*, cock ostrich, and *!kui di*, hen ostrich. In *Hie* they precede the substantive: *tʃo*, person → *kautʃo*, man, and *//gaitʃo*, woman. This mechanism is occasionally employed in *Nama* also where it is necessary to indicate sex in substantives having the common gender; e.g. */gwai*, child → *aore /gwai*, boy, and *tarare /gwai*, girl.

The Naron and Hottentot classification of substantives according to sex is, strictly speaking, found only in such cases where there is a natural distinction between the sexes, i.e. in the case of persons and animals. Other substantives, where no natural sex distinction is present, make use of the same suffixes, but here the classification is based on a different principle, which may be defined as that of quality. All substantives denoting objects which are strong, big, tall, or narrow take the masculine ending, while those denoting objects which are weak, small, low, or broad take the feminine ending. Thus in *Naron*, *hi* is any plant, but *hiba* (masc.) is a tree, and *hisa* (fem.) a low broad bush. Similarly in *Nama*, *gõab* (masc.) is a sword or big long knife, while *gõas* (fem.) is a pocket knife; */úib*, mountain, but */úis*, hillock, koppie. The same distinction between objects according to quality is found in */Xam*, although the mechanism for expressing it is different. Thus *toi gwai* may mean "big or strong ostrich" as well as "cock ostrich", and *toi /aiti* "weak or small ostrich, as well as "hen ostrich".

Number. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups and in *Hie* only two numbers are clearly recognized; in *Naron* and in the Hottentot Group, however, there is also a dual number. The distinction of number in all these languages applies almost entirely to substantives and pronouns only, and in a few cases to adjectives also; the verb as a rule remains unaltered in form, no matter what the number of the governing substantive may be.

In the method of forming plurals, */Xam* differs considerably from all the other Khoisan languages. Its plurals are formed chiefly by reduplication of the singular, either in full or contracted form; e.g. */kou*, stone; */koukən*, stones; *ti or tikən*, thing → *tikəntikən*; *//go//go*, whirlwind → *//gogən//gogən*; *!kwitən*, jackal → *!kwi!kwi*. In a few cases a plural ending is added either to the root or to the reduplication; such endings are *-gu*, only used for people (e.g. *mama*, mother → *mamagu*) *-di* or *-de*, *-kən*, *-gən*, or *-ten*. A very few substantives remain unchanged in the plural.

In all the other Khoisan languages (including the other members of the Southern Group) the bulk of the plurals are formed by adding a special suffix to the singular. The chief plural suffixes are: in *Auen*, *-si*, e.g. *!num*, stone, *!numsi*, stones; in *!Khũ*, *-siŋ*, *-ŋ*, e.g. *gaoxa*, chief, *gaoxasiŋ*, chiefs; in *Hie*, *-re* or *-ra*, e.g. *kxam*, lion, *kxamre*, lions. In *Naron* and *Nama* the form of the suffix differs with the gender of the substantive. In *Naron* we have *-tʃi* or *-//kwa* (masc.; the latter is used only with men or personified animals); *-ʃi* (fem.), and *-ni* (common). Hence *kwe*, person → *kwe//kwa*, men, *kweʃi*, women, and *kwene*, people. In *Nama* the plural suffixes are: *-gu* (masc.), *-ti* (fem.), and *-n* (common), so that *khoii*, person → *khoigu*, men; *khoiti*, women; and *khoin*, people.

In all the Bushman languages the plural ending may be dropped with the numeral "two"; e.g. in *!Khũ*, *gome*, ox → *gomesiŋ*, oxen, but *gome tsa*, two oxen. Only in *Naron* and in the Hottentot languages is a special dual ending added; in *Naron* this is *-tʃera-* (masc.), *-ʃera* (fem.), and *-khara* (common), e.g. *kwetʃera*, two men, *kweʃera*, two women, and *kwekhara*, two people; while in *Nama* it is *-kha* (masc.) and *-ra* (fem. and com.), e.g. *khoikha*, two men; *khoira*, two women; *khoira*, two people.

Person. All the Khoisan languages recognize three classes of persons, corresponding to the person speaking, the person spoken to, and the person or thing spoken of, which they express by means of personal pronouns both singular and plural (in *Naron* and Hottentot also dual). There is no verbal declension in any of these languages; the class of person is ascertainable only from the personal pronoun. The Southern and Northern Groups and *Hie* make no distinction in the form of the pronoun according to the sex of the person; the first and second personal pronouns, that is, may be either masculine or feminine, the third personal pronoun masculine, feminine, or neuter, the gender being determinable only by the context, not by the form of the pronoun. The only exception recorded to this rule is in *Auen*, where the personal pronouns have no forms for the

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masculine and feminine in the singular, but distinguish them in the plural, thus:

mihi, *mi*, I	*e /ka*, we (masc.)	*ehe*, *e*, we (fem.)
ahi, *a*, thou	*i /ka*, you (m.)	*ihi*, *i*, you (f.)
hai, *ha*, he, she, it	*si /ka*, they (m.)	*sia*, *si*, they (f.)

In *Naron*, on the other hand, there are really only four fundamental forms for pronouns, viz. *ti* for the first person singular, *si* or *ſi* for the first person plural, *sa* for the second person, and *xa* for the third person. Features such as gender and number are denoted by the addition of special suffixes similar to those employed for the same purposes with substantives.

In *Nama*, again, it would seem that a fundamental distinction is made between persons present (i.e. speakers and hearers) and those not present and spoken of (third person), for in the former case the radical element is *sa* or *si*, person, number, and gender being distinguished by the use of special suffixes, while in the latter it is *//ēi*, which is treated just like a substantive, i.e. to it are added the regular substantival suffixes for gender and number.

In the Southern Group and in *Nama* there are two forms for the pronoun in the first person plural, one form including the person addressed with the speaker, the other excluding him. In */Xam*, e.g., the inclusive form of the pronoun is *i*, the exclusive form *si*; while in Nama, where we have the following forms,

Dual masc., *sakhum*, *sikhum*; fem. *sam*, *sim*; common, *sam*, *sim*
Plur. m., *sagye*, *sigye*; f., *sase*, *sise*; c., *sada*, *sida*

the forms beginning with *sa* are inclusive, those with *si* exclusive.

This distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms does not appear to exist at all in any of the Northern and Central Bushman languages.

Possession. The possessive relationship in all the Khoisan languages is indicated by the fact that the qualifying substantive (possessor) precedes the primary substantive (possessed). In the Southern Group the two are connected by one of the particles *ka*, *ga*, *ta*, according to the sound following; in the Northern Group there is no such possessive particle; in the Central Group it is *dhe* in *Hie*, but is more often omitted, and *di* in *Naron*, just as in *Nama*. In certain cases these particles may be omitted, usually when the possessive relationship applies to relatives or parts of the body. The following renderings for "the man's hut" in the different languages will illustrate the general uniformity in the mode of expressing this relationship:

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/Xam.	*gwai-ka //neiŋ* (but *gwai k'a*, the man's arm).
Auen.	*!kwa tʃ'u.*
/Khũ	*!ku tʃ'u*
Hie	*kautʃo dʒu.*
Naron	*kwam-di /nuuʃa.*
Nama	*khoib-di omi* (but *khoib //gũb*, the man's father).

In each case the word for "man" precedes that for "hut"; in */Xam*, *Naron*, and *Nama* there is a connecting particle, but not in the other languages.

A few words may be added regarding the modifications undergone by the personal pronominal forms to indicate the genitive relationship. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no special form for the possessive pronoun, which is treated just like the substantive, e.g. in */Xam*, *ŋ-ka //neiŋ*, my hut, but *ŋ oa*, my father, and *ŋ k'a*, my arm; while in */Khũ* we have *ha tʃu*, his hut. In *Hie*, however, there are special forms for the third personal pronouns: instead of *ehe*, he, she, it, we find *em*, his, her, its, and instead of *ere*, they, we have *thau eko*, their. In Naron the possessive pronouns for the first and second person singular are the radical forms for the personal pronouns, *ti* and *sa*, used as a rule without any ending. The possessive pronoun for the first person plural is either *sita* or *sita-di*, irrespective of gender; the second person plural would probably be formed with *-di*, although it hardly occurs, while the third person is treated in the same way as a substantive, always forming the genitive with the connecting particle *-di*. For example, *ti hooba*, my husband; *sa !kwa*, your child; *sita !nuu*, our country; *xam-di !nu*, his hut. In *Nama* there is sometimes no alteration of the pronominal form, save that in the first and second persons sing. the shortened forms *ti*, my, and *sa*, your, are used instead of *tita*, I, and *sats* or *sas*, you. Sometimes, however, a special possessive pronoun is used, formed by adding the personal suffixes to the particle *ā*; thus, *āta*, my; *āts*, your (masc.), *ās*, your (fem.), etc. There is no modification of the pronominal form to agree with the sex or number of the object possessed, except in certain cases where the first personal possessive pronoun is placed after the substantive it qualifies. As a rule the possessive pronoun precedes the primary substantive, sometimes in direct apposition, without the connecting particle, as in *sa haab*, your horse, sometimes, however, with it, as in the alternative form *sa-di haab*.

Junction. The relationship between substantive and adjective is generally expressed by pure apposition, but there are variant forms in the different languages. In */Xam* the rule is that the attribute

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follows the substantive it qualifies: *!k'e !kwiïja*, the clever man. Often, however, the attribute is preceded by the relative particles *aa* (sing.) or *ee* (plur.): *!k'e aa !kwiïja*, the clever man (lit. man who clever). Most attributes have the same form in sing. and plur., i.e. they undergo no modification for number; but attributes of size have separate forms in the plural: *||kho !kuiïja*, the large bag, but *||kho||kho !kuiï!kuiïta*, large bags; *!k'e ||kxowa*, the tall man, but *!kwitən ||kxo||kxoka*, tall men.

In *Auen* the few adjectives follow the substantives they qualify, and are not declined: *!nwi ʒee*, new moon; *!nwi ǂesi*, full moon. So, too, in *!Khũ*, they generally follow it, as in *!ganu dʒee*, new arm-ring, *tʃi !naa*, big thing; but sometimes they precede it, as in *gai gaoxa*, good chief. They undergo no modification in form for the plural: *gai gaoxasiŋ*, good chiefs.

In *Hie* the attribute invariably precedes the substantive, and remains unaltered in the plural: *||koo hii*, a large tree; *||koo hire*, large trees. In *Nama*, and apparently also in *Naron*, the attribute generally precedes the substantive, and in such cases undergoes no modifications in form: *!kxuha khoib*, a rich man; *gei tarás*, a big woman; *gei khoigu*, big men. If, however, it is desired to emphasize the attribute, it may follow the substantive, and in such cases takes the corresponding endings for gender and number: *aob geib*, a big man; *khoigu geigu*, big men; *tarati geiti*, big women.

Tense. The notion of time in all the Khoisan languages is to a very large extent expressed mainly by means of special auxiliary particles, which generally precede the verbal root, except in *Naron* and *Nama*, where an inverted form is found, of which mention will be made below. In a few instances the verbal stem itself may be modified by the use of special suffixes to indicate tense, but such occurrences are rare.

In */Xam* the verbal stem as a rule remains unmodified. Suffixation is, however, occasionally found, the main temporal suffixes being *-ī*, indicating continuous action, and *-a*, *-ja*, or *-wa* used to denote completed action. Generally tense is expressed by means of auxiliary particles preceding the verbal stem; thus */ku* expresses continuous or repeated action, */ne* is used as a narrative past, *se* and *ka* express futurity, *siŋ* completed action, *haa* the remote past, *oa* corresponds to our pluperfect, etc.

In *Auen* there are no suffixes for tense. The root of the verb always remains unchanged, and used alone signifies present or

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indefinite time. Other tenses are formed by verbal particles preceding the root, such as *ko*, *ku* (past tense), *ka* (future), *re*, *o*, *ti* (narrative), *a* (repetition of tense in preceding clause), *o* (present, or an unfinished action). In *!Khũ* only one temporal suffix seems to occur, *-a*, which denotes habitual action with all tenses. Otherwise auxiliary particles are used which precede the verbal root: *o*, *ti* (present narrative), *go*, *gu* (past), *ga* (future).

E.g. (Auen) *mihi /nii*, I stay.
e o !goo, we are sitting.
ha ko uu kurikwa, he has gone to Kurikwaa.
ha ka ts'a, he will sleep.
(!Khũ) *na ti u*, I go.
na go siŋ, I saw.

In *Hei* there appears to be a clear distinction between completed and incompleted action, seen by the fact that in the former case the suffix *-aha* is always attached to the verb. Closer distinctions in tense are, as in the other languages, made by means of particles preceding the verb: *ka . . kwa* (past), *na* (future), *kwa* (narrative).

E.g. *tʃi kwa //gam*, I love;
tʃi na //gam, I shall love;
ka tʃi kwa //gam, I loved;
tʃi //gamaha, I have loved;
tʃi ka //gamaha, I had loved;
tʃi na //gamaha, I shall have loved.

Apart from this suffixing of *-aha* there is no alteration of the verbal root for tense.

In *Naron*, similarly, verbal roots do not alter for tense, which is expressed by placing auxiliary particles before or after the verbal root. Thus *tira ma*, I give; *tira ko ma*, I have given; *tira ka ma*, I shall be giving; *ma ra ko*, I am giving; *ma ra ka*, I shall be giving. The inversion of word order found in the last two examples is an alternative form, which can be employed with all the tenses; in such cases only the ending of the pronoun is used, not the full form, and the verbal root stands at the head of the sentence. This usage is not found in any of the other Bushman languages, but also occurs in Hottentot.

In *Nama* the employment of suffixes to denote habitual or continuous action is well marked, but it should be noted that the suffixes are attached not to the verbal stem, but to the auxiliary particles; e.g. *-ro* is used for the imperfect: *tita goro mũ*, I used to see; and *-re* for the perfect and pluperfect: *tita gjere mũ hã ĩ*, I had the habit of seeing. The following is a list of the more important particles:

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ta (present time): *sats ta mũ*, you see. After a vowel, *ta* → *ra*: *tita ra mũ*, I see.

go (recent time): *tita go mũ*, I have seen. The order of words is sometimes reversed, as in Naron, the verb being placed first in the sentence: *mũ ta go*, I have seen.

gje, *gjegje* (perfect): *tita gje mũ*, or *mũ ta gje*, I saw.

ni (future): *tita ni mũ*, or *mũ ta ni*, I shall see.

hã ĩ, when placed after the perfect form of the verb, forms the pluperfect: *tita gje mũ hã ĩ*, I had seen: when placed after the future, it forms the future perfect: *tita ni mũ hã ĩ*, I shall have seen.

In addition to these auxiliary particles there are in all the languages adverbs which have a temporal significance, and which are roughly equivalent to our "soon", "later", "yesterday", "to-day", etc. There do not appear to be any formative elements present in these words. Their occurrence should, however, be noted, as indicating that temporal concepts may find expression in other ways than by the use of special particles or suffixes; but these words belong to the vocabulary rather than to the grammar. The idea of time is implicit in their meaning, and is not indicated by any formal process.

Nexus. (*a*) *Copula.*—

In */Xam*, as has been shown, the attribute in junction generally follows directly upon the substantive, with no connecting particle. In copula the order of words is the same, but there is as a rule a connecting word, which may be either the particle *a* or *e* ("verb to be") or one of the verbal auxiliaries of tense; e.g. *hi /ku /hoakən*, they are black; *ha xukən siŋ /hoaka*, his face was black. In the present tense, however, there may frequently be no connecting particle at all: *si kx'ao*, we are cold; *h̄ akən*, they are handsome. Where the predicate is a substantive there is always a connecting particle: *//kxaŋ e !kwi*, the lion is a person.

In */Khũ*, and apparently also in *Auen*, the predicative attribute always follows the substantive: cf. *gai gaoxa*, the good chief, with *gaoxa gai*, the chief is good. Where the predicate is an adjective there is no connecting particle at all, but where it is a substantive there is a special connecting word, *ua*; e.g. *na ua gaoxa*, I am a chief; *gaoxa ua baa*, the chief is a father.

In *Hie*, when an adjective is used predicatively, the primary substantive is connected to it by means of the personal pronoun and the auxiliary of tense; cf. *//koo hii*, a large tree, but *hii e kwa //koo*; *dʒunje abare*, black dogs, but *abare ere kwa dʒunje*, the dogs are black.

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That the connecting words may not always be present is seen from the following examples, but it will be noticed that the attribute always follows the primary substantive:

kxuinje njaa, a cold wind; but *njaa kxuinje*, the wind is cold.
haie dom, a swollen throat; but *tſi dom haie*, my throat is swollen.

Where the predicate is a substantive, the connecting words are invariably present: */garo e kwa ǂkam*, the ostrich is king.

In *Nama* the predicative adjective is unaltered in form, but is always preceded by the verbal auxiliaries of tense; e.g. *gei khoib* or *khoib geib*, a big man, but *khoib gje a gei*, the man is big. The particle *a* here seems to correspond with that in */Xam*. Where the predicate is a substantive, it is regarded as an object, and accordingly takes the corresponding case-ending *-a*; e.g. *naab gje gao-aoba*, this is the chief; *nees gje ti haasa*, this is my mare (cf. *gao-aob*, chief; and *haas*, mare).

(*b*) *Predication of Action to Substantive.*

In */Xam* the predicate always follows the substantive and undergoes no modification in form to correspond with the number or person of the subject (i.e. there is no verbal conjugation). As a rule the verbal auxiliaries of tense intervene, but in connected narrative these may be omitted; e.g. */kxwaŋ /ku-g /ne kwi*, the child said; *haŋ ha /kutən*, he formerly sang; but cf. also, */kxwaŋ kwi*, the child said; *kaŋ tum*, I listen; */kaukakən /kwei*, the children jumped for joy.

In */Khũ* also the verb is always unaltered in form and the order of words is the same as that in */Xam*. The personal pronouns have no special forms when used subjectively, though in the first person sing. the form *na* is generally used in preference to *mi*. The auxiliaries of tense may be used when necessary, but are often omitted, especially in connected discourse; e.g. *ha ti siŋ* or *ha siŋ*, he sees; *na go siŋ* or *na siŋ*, I had seen; *gaoxu go gau*, the chief took; *gaoxusiŋ go gau*, the chiefs took.

In *Hie* the same principle applies: there is no verbal conjugation, and the order of words is also subject + auxiliaries + main verb. Where, however, the subject is an animate object it often happens that the corresponding personal pronoun is added after the auxiliaries, and before the main verb; e.g. *tſo ka ehe kwa //gam*, the man loved. The pronoun may, however, be omitted and only the verbal form expressed: *tſo ka kewa //gam*. Where the subject is an inanimate object, this use of the personal pronoun is never found.

In *Nama* also there is no verbal conjugation. Two usages, however,

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are found with regard to the order of words. In the one, the subject, as in the Bushman languages, precedes the main verb; e.g. *tita ra mũ*, I see; *//ĩgu ra mũ*, they see. Sometimes, however, the main verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence. In such cases only the shortened form of the pronoun is used. It has already been mentioned that the radical elements of the personal pronouns are only three in number (*ti* for the first person sing.; *sa* and *si* for the second person sing., dual, and plur., and for the first person dual and plur.; and *//ĩ* for the third person), and that the distinctions according to sex and number are made by means of the regular personal suffixes added to these radicals. When the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the radical elements are dropped from the pronominal forms, and only the personal suffixes are used to denote person as well as sex and number; e.g. *mũ ta ra*, I see; *mũ da ra*, we (com. gender) see. If the suffix consists of consonants only or of one vowel only, it is usually attached to the verbal root; e.g. *mũts ta*, you (fem. sing.) see; *mũs ta*, she sees; *mũn ta*, they (com. gender) see. Hence we can say either *//ĩb go mũ* or *mũb go*, he saw. A similar construction is found in *Naron*, but nowhere else in the Bushman languages.

Apart from this special construction the relation of Subject to Predicate is in *Nama* expressed in exactly the same way as in the Bushman languages.

Case. The consideration of case has been left over till now, because, as will be seen, the recognition of most case distinctions depends upon the relation between substantive and verb. What is usually termed the "genitive" case is a category of a different kind, and depends primarily upon the relation between two substantives. Generally speaking, it may be said that none of the Bushman languages has a special form for the objective case, save in a few personal pronouns, chiefly first person sing., but all except *Naron* have a second emphatic nominative. In the Southern Group this is found with pronouns and substantives of all kinds, and is usually expressed by means of the suffix *-ken, gen,* or *ten*. In the Northern Group and in *Hie* it occurs chiefly in the personal pronouns, which have a longer form in such cases; e.g. in the Auen pronouns, of the forms *miki, mi* (first sing.), *aki, a* (second sing.), *hai, ha* (third sing.), the longer forms are the emphatic nominative, the shorter either nominative or accusative. This emphatic nominative is apparently not found in *Nama*, which, on the other hand, has a special form for

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the accusative, thus showing its position as a language not entirely Bushman.

In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no formal recognition of the accusative (objective) case save by rule of position: the object always follows, the subject always precedes, the main verb. The order of words in these languages is almost invariably Subject, Predicate, Object. In *Hie* there is also no special form for the objective case, and the object can usually only be determined by rule of position, which is the same as in the two preceding groups. In *Naron*, on the other hand, there is no special sequence of words, and consequently it is by no means easy to distinguish between Subject and Object, as they are not formally discriminated in any way. The Object often stands first in the sentence, and the words seem tossed together in haphazard fashion. It is only by the context of situation that the sentence can be correctly interpreted.

In *Nama* there is a distinctive objective case, formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the nominative form of the substantive; thus *khoib*, man, becomes *khoiba* in the objective: *mû ta go khoiba*, I saw the man. Here, of course, the order of words is not so significant, as the object can always be recognized by the termination; hence we may find *khoiba ta go mû* as an alternative form. The personal pronouns apparently take the same case ending. It may be noted that in the copula if the predicate is a substantive it also takes the objective case ending: *naab gye khoiba*, this is the man. If the substantive which is the object of a sentence is qualified by an attribute, only the latter has the case ending; *e.g. khoib geiba ta go mû* or *mû ta go khoib geiba*, I saw the big man. In this recognition of a distinct objective case *Nama* differs decidedly from all the Bushman languages, including *Naron*, with which in other respects it has so many points of close resemblance.

In connection with the objective case may be mentioned briefly the *passive voice*, which has a reversive function and makes the grammatical object the most important element in the sentence. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no real passive; in the Central Group, on the other hand, it can be formed by adding the suffix *-en*, *-e* or *-he* to the active root: thus in *Hie*, *tʃi kwa //gam*, I love, but *tʃi kwa //gamen*, I am loved; while in *Naron*, *tire xau*, I cut, but *tire xaue*, I am cut. So, too, in *Nama* the ending *-he* attached to the active root makes it passive: *tita ra mûhe*, I am seen, etc.

There is no "dative case", but in most of the languages we find an "applicative" form of the verb which has an equivalent significance. In */Xam* this is formed by the addition of the suffix *-a* to the verbal root; in */Khũ* by means of the verbal suffix *-/a*; and in *Nama* by the use of the suffix *-ba*, e.g. *//aa*, to wash, *//aaba*, to wash for somebody. In sentences the "dative" may also be indicated by order of words, the general rule being that the indirect object precedes the direct object; e.g. in */Khũ*, *naa mi //ga*, give me a knife. The English rendering is a literal translation of the Bushman sentence.

The vocative case is formally expressed in all the Khoisan languages except *Hie*, a special suffix being added to the substantival root. In */Xam* the suffix is *-we*, e.g. *ibowe*, O father! *!kaukowe*, O children!; in */Khũ* it is *doa*, e.g. *tsau-(n)doa*, O woman!; and in *Naron* it is *dɛe*, e.g. *arugu-dɛe*, O dog! In *Nama* the vocative is expressed by means of special suffixes in the sing., and in the dual and plural by the alteration of the vowel in the suffixed gender ending; e.g. *khoib*, man; *khoitse*, O man! *khois*, woman; *khoise*, O woman! But *khoikha*, two men, becomes *khoikho* in the vocative; and *khoira*, two women, becomes *khoiro*; etc.

Word Order. Enough has already been adduced to show that the importance of word order differs in the various languages. In the Southern and Northern Groups the sequence of words in the sentence is fairly straightforward: the Subject precedes and the Object succeeds the Predicate. Where there are two objects the indirect generally comes before the direct. Attributes stand close to the substantives they qualify: in most cases they follow it in the Southern Group, while in the Northern Group they generally precede it. In *Hie* the order of words is not so rigid, and the object occasionally precedes the predicate. In *Naron* there is very little adherence to any fixed order: the whole sentence may be inverted, and combinations such as Object, Predicate, Subject, or Predicate, Subject, Object, or again Object, Subject, Predicate frequently occur, although the direct sequence of Subject, Predicate, Object is not impossible. In *Nama* also there is no rigid order of words, but this is compensated for by the fact that there is a special ending for the object, whereas in *Naron* the distinction between subject and object is often difficult to determine.

In all the languages of the Northern Group and in *Naron* the omission of the subject is frequent and confusing at times. If no subject at all is given, remarks Miss Bleek, the first person may be presupposed. "Saw a back" may usually be translated "I saw a

B H 193 back". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

NOTE ON VOCABULARY

B. H 192 The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in */Khã* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged B H 192 197 according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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2: Schapera
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102, 103, 133

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Map II "The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa," has been reproduced for the files in the following manner:

IIA	IIB	IIC
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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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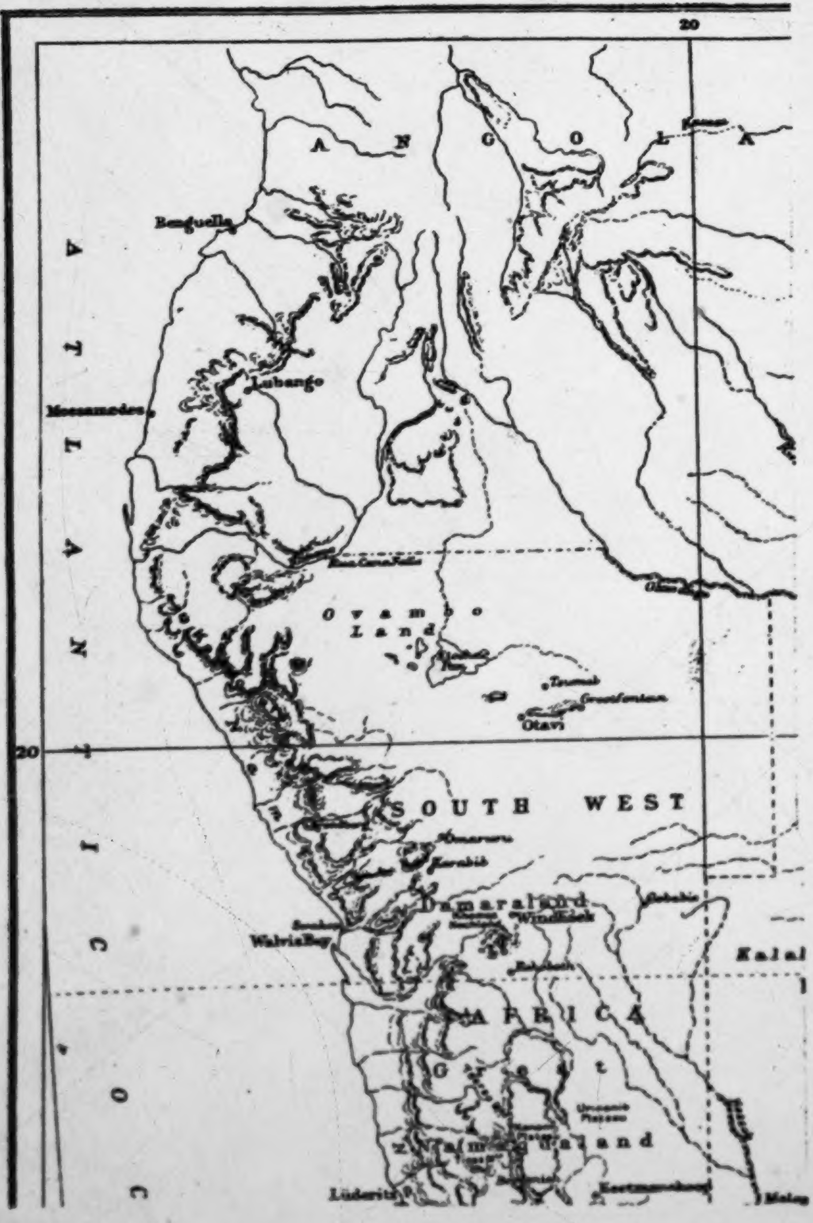
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A N G O L A
Benguella
Lubango
Mossamedes
A T L A N T I C
O C
Ovambo Land
Tsumeb
Grootfontein
Otavi
20
SOUTH WEST
Omaruru
Karibib
Damaraland
Windhoek
Walvis Bay
Gobabis
Kalal
Rehoboth
AFRICA
Great Namaland
Lüderitz
Keetmanshoop

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MAP II A]

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FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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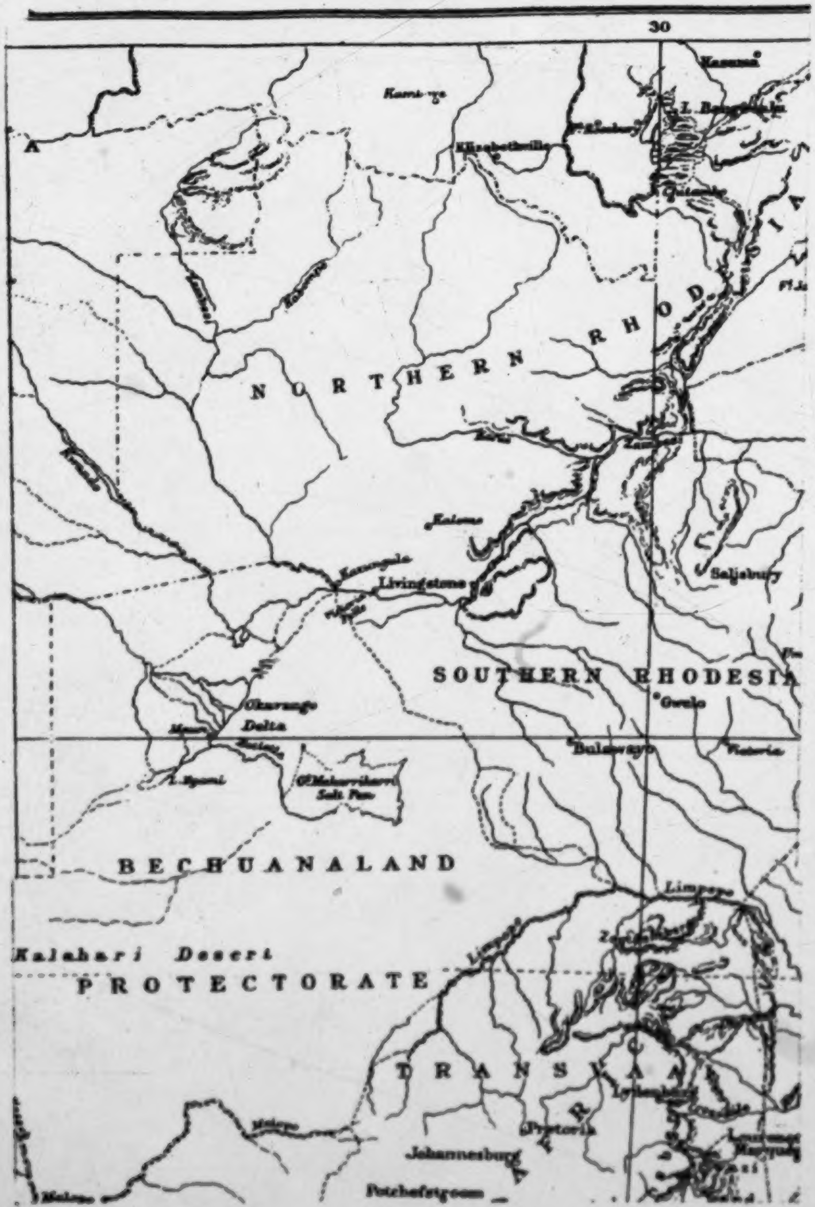
103
133


30
A
Elisabethville
L. Bangweulu
NORTHERN RHODESIA
Kalomo
Kazungula
Livingstone
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
Gwelo
Salisbury
Bulawayo
Victoria
Okavango
Delta
L. Ngami
Gt. Makarikari
Salt Pan
BECHUANALAND
Kalahari Desert
PROTECTORATE
Limpopo
TRANSVAAL
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Potchefstroom
Molopo

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MAP II B]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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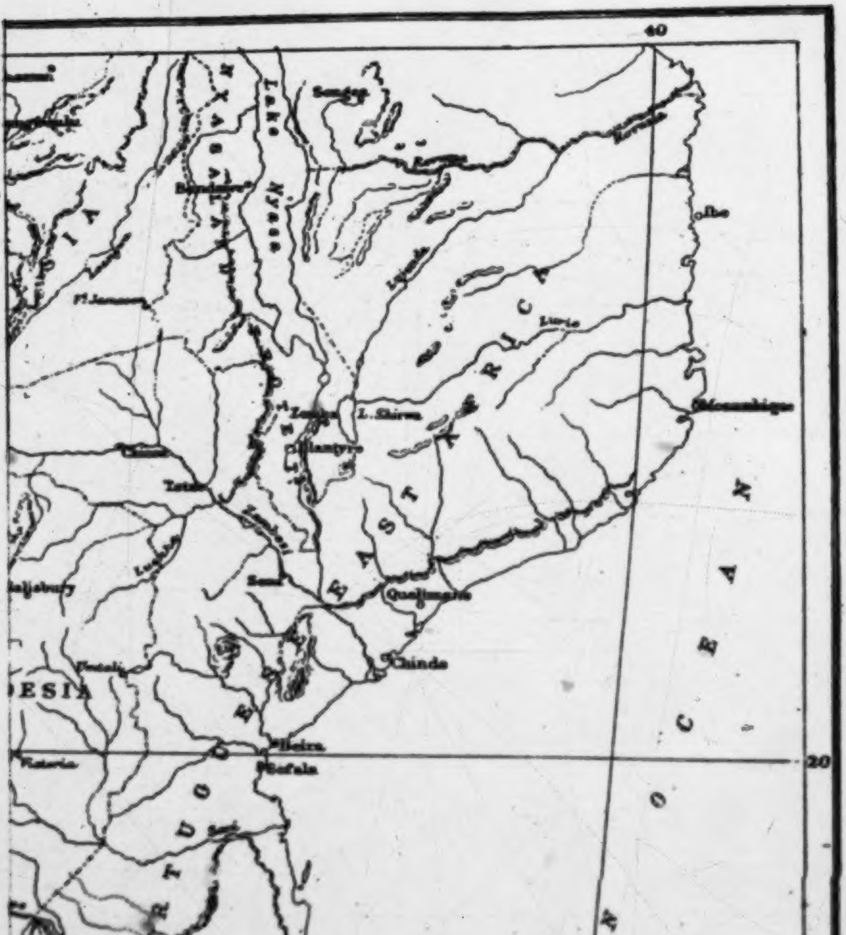
40
Lake Nyasa
Rovuma
Ibo
Lujenda
Lurio
L. Shirwa
Zomba
Blantyre
Tete
Mozambique
Quelimane
Chinde
Beira
Sofala
DESIA
EAST AFRICA
PORTUGUESE
INDIAN OCEAN
20
Tropic of Capricorn
Delagoa B.

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MAP II C]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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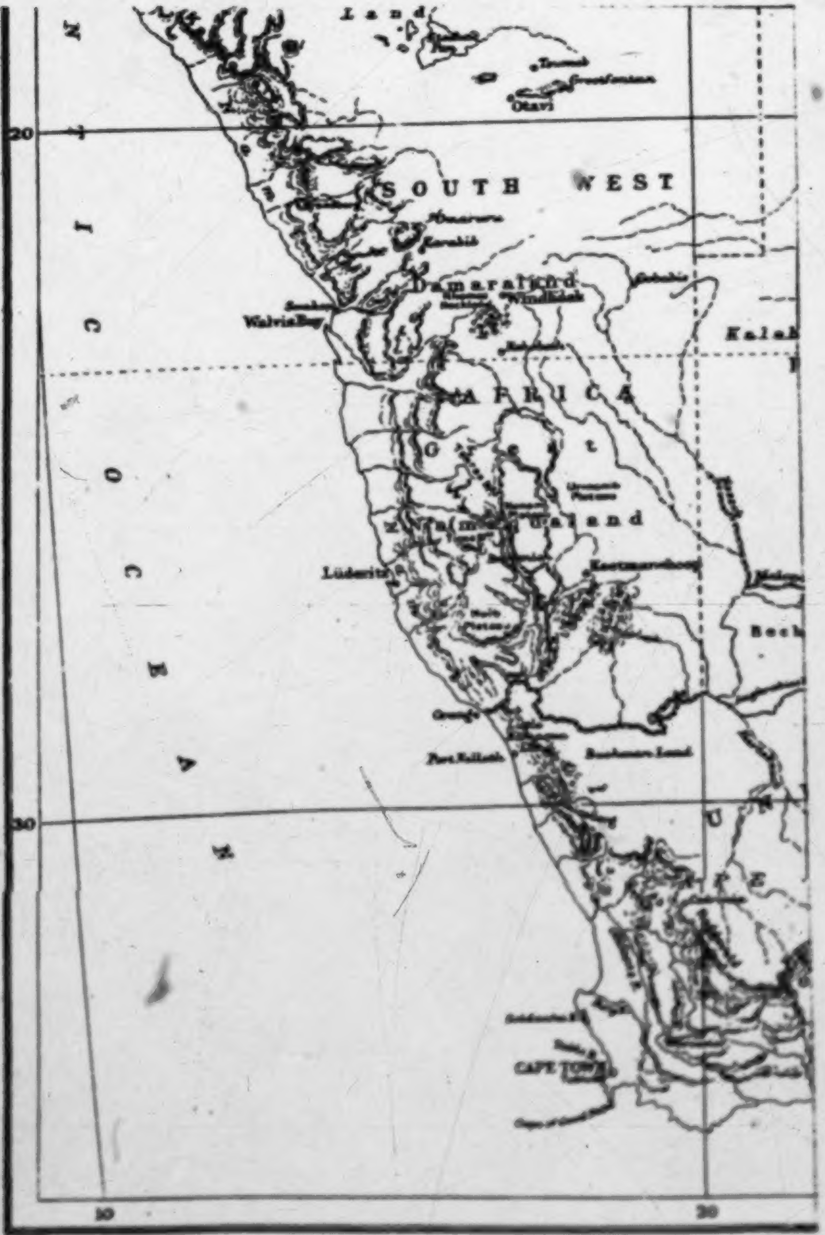
133


Land
Tsumeb
Grootfontein
Otavi
20
SOUTH WEST
Omaruru
Karibib
Damaraland
Windhoek
Walvis Bay
Kalah
Rehoboth
AFRICA
Great
Namaqualand
Lüderitz
Keetmanshoop
Bech
Port Nolloth
Bushmanland
30
CAPE
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MAP II D]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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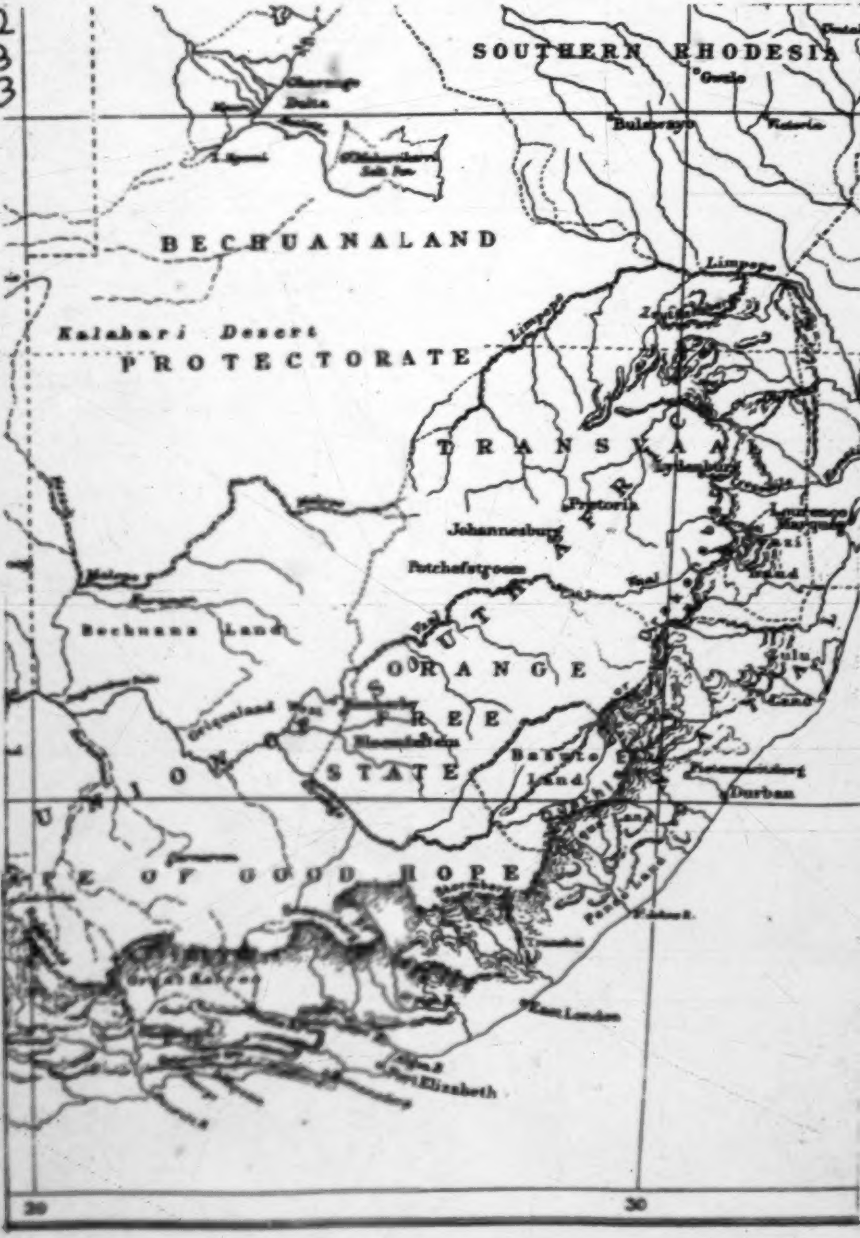

SOUTHERN RHODESIA
Bulawayo
Victoria
BECHUANALAND
Kalahari Desert
PROTECTORATE
Limpopo
TRANSVAAL
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Potchefstroom
Vaal
Swazi Land
Zulu Land
Bechuana Land
ORANGE FREE STATE
Bloemfontein
Basuto Land
Pietermaritzburg
Durban
UNION
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
East London
Port Elizabeth
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MAP II E]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

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Bushmen FX10

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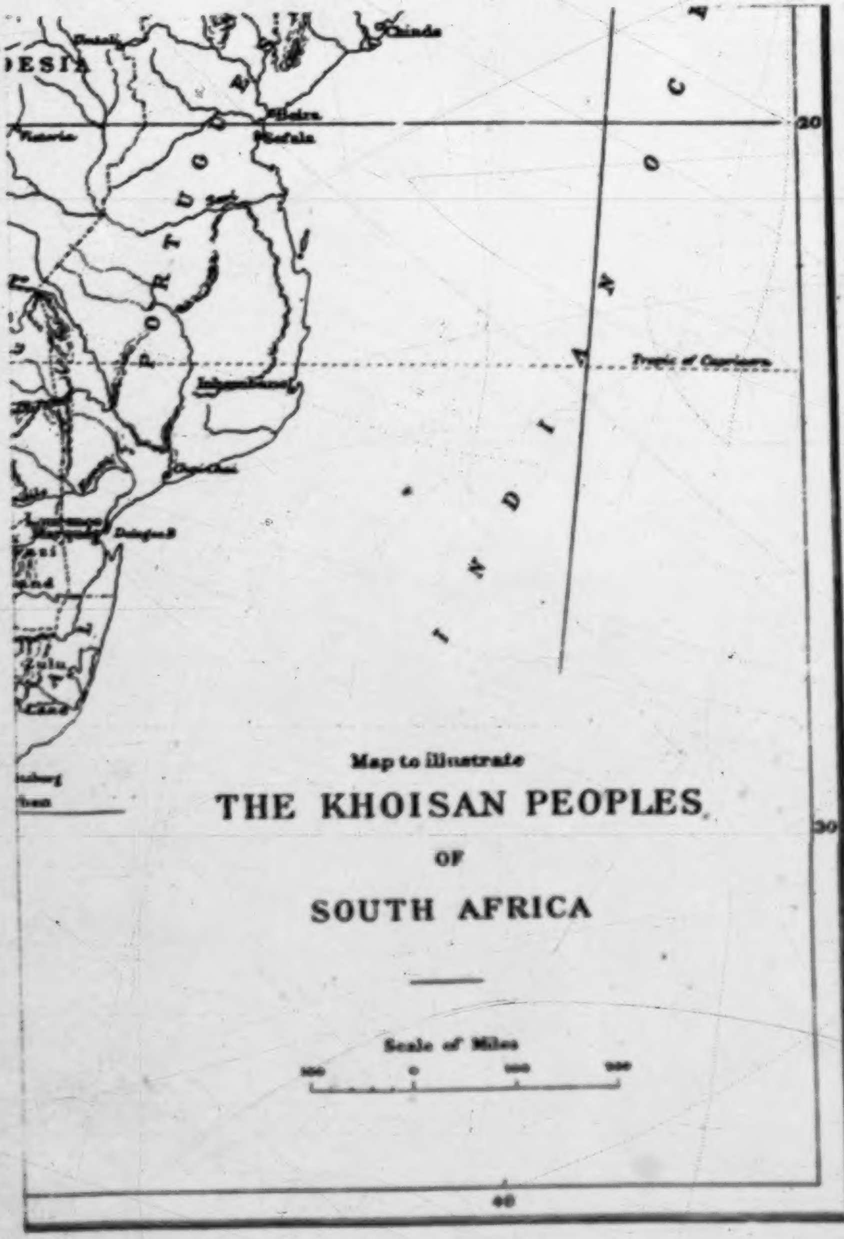
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Map to illustrate
THE KHOISAN PEOPLES
OF
SOUTH AFRICA

[FACING p. 446
MAP II F]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

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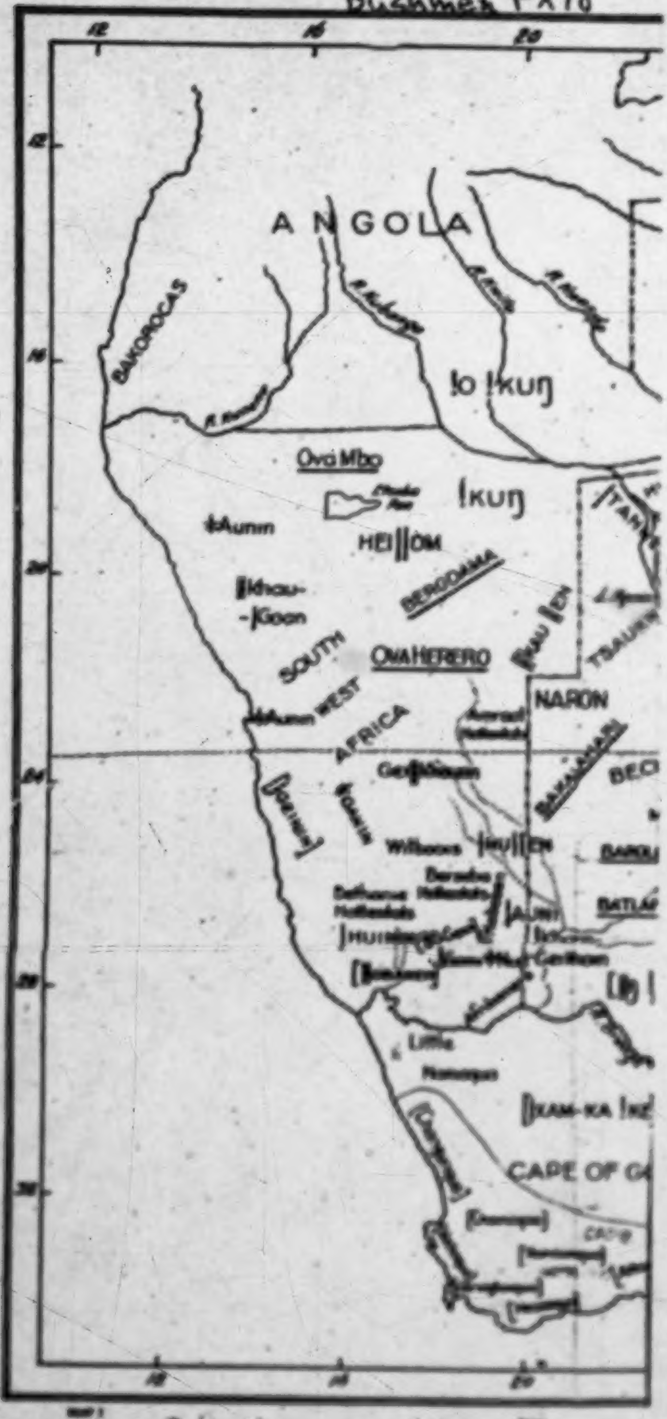
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[facing p. 446 (a)]

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Bushman FX10

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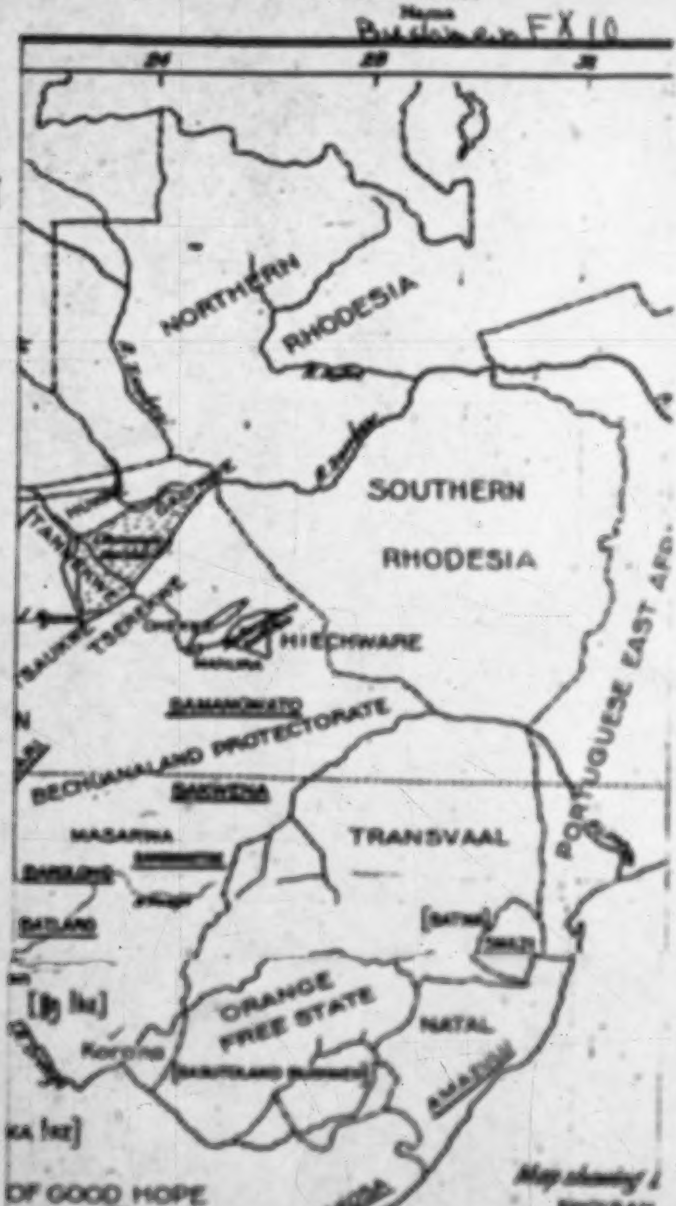
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Map showing
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Bushman Tribes
Hottentot Tribes
Bantu People
Extinct Tribes
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[facing p. 446 (l)]

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R. Zambesi
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...ing Distribution of
...OISAN TRIBES
... Tribes in small Capitals : NARON
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